The Revolution.

PRINCIPLE, NOT POLICY JUSTICE, NOT FAVORS.—MEN, THEIR RIGHTS AND NOTHING MORE: WOMEN, THEIR RIGHTS AND NOTHING LESS.

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The Revolution.

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OFFICE, 49 EAST TWENTY-THIRD ST.

ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

AMERICAN EQUAL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION.

The anniversaay exercises of this Association commenced on Wednesday morning of last week at Steinway Hall, in this city. The opening session was very largely attended, the spacious Hall being nearly full, showing that the era of anniversaries of important and useful Societies, is by no means passed away.

In the absence of the president, Mrs. Lucretia Mott, the chair was taken by Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, First Vice-President. Rev. Mrs. Hanaford, of Massachusetts, opened the meeting with prayer.

On the platform were seated Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Ernestine L. Rose, of New York; Susan B. Anthony of The Revolution; Mary A. Livermore of Chicago; Phoebe Cozzens, of St. Louis; Lily Peckham, of Milwaukee; Madam Anneke, of Milwaukee; Madam de Hericourt, of Chicago; Mrs. M. E. J. Gage, of Syracuse; Frederick Douglass; Lucy Stone, of New Jersey; Olive Logan of New York; Josephine Griffing, of Washington; Mrs. Paulina W. Davis; Mrs. Abby H. Patton; Mrs. Kate Doggett; Eleanor Kirk; Mrs. Bachelder, of Boston; Mrs. Mary Macdonald, of Mount Vernon; Rev. Mrs. Hanaford; Rev. Antoinette L. Brown Blackwell, of New Jersey; Mrs. Heath, of Kansas; Mrs. Newman, of Binghamton, New York; Mrs. Wendt (German), of New York; Andrew Jackson Davis; Mary F. Davis; Mrs. Holmes, of Union Village, New York; Mrs. Phelps, of the Woman's Bureau, New York; Senator Pomeroy; Mrs. Longley, of Cincinnati; Mrs. Amelia Bloomer, of Council Bluffs, Iowa (the original Bloomer); Lizzie Boynton, of Ohio; Mary A. Gage, of Brooklyn; Mrs. Sarah Norton, of the New York Working Women's Association, and others.

Mrs. Stanton then made a brief opening address. She remarked that the cry of many in the present day, both here and in England, is that republicanism is a failure. But republicanism, that is to say the equal rights of all before the law—black and white, men and women—has never been yet tried in this country or anywhere else, and till it is fairly tried it cannot be called a failure. The danger, the weakness, of our present system is that it is only part republican. We never can have a true republicanism till the whole idea of aristocracy, of sex or anything else is abandoned. This is the only safety of the country, and the Woman's Rights movement is therefore a great patriotic movement. It is not only merely the right of woman to drop a ballot into a box that is fought for; it is the safety and perpetuity of our government. This cause is now intrusted to the women of this nation. All the nations of the earth are looking to this country. We have the destinies of the world in our hands. Let us be true to ourselves and realize on this Western continent a genuine republicanism, a true manhood and true womanhood, and then set up a beacon light to the nations by which they may safely be guided.

Lucy Stone presented verbally the report of the Executive Committee for the last year, running over the various petitions in favor of Woman Suffrage presented during the year to State Legislatures and the various conventions held in different parts of the country, and remarked upon the greater respect shown to the petitions over former years. Formerly, she said, they were laughed at, and frequently not at all considered. This last year they were referred to committees, and often debated at great length in the legislatures, and in some cases motions to submit to the people of the state an amendment to the State constitution doing away with the distinction of sex in the matter of suffrage was rejected by very small majorities indeed. In one state, that of Nevada, such a motion was carried; and the question will shortly be submitted to the people of the state. A number of important and very successful conventions, in various parts of the country, have also been held, and have made a decided impression. But what is most significant is, that public attention is so called to this subject that newspapers of all shades of opinion are giving a great deal of space to it. The question is recognized as taking its place among the great questions of the age, which cannot be put down until it is settled upon the great basis of immutable justice and right. The report was unanimously accepted and adopted.

The following committees, on motion of Miss Susan B. Anthony, were appointed by the Chair: Committee on Nominations—Edwin S. Bunker, Lydia Mott, Edwin A. Studwell, Abby H. Gibbons, Lucy Stone, Charles C. Burleigh, and Lillie Peckham. Committee on Resolutions—Ernestine L. Rose, Henry B. Blackwell, Anna C. Field, Mary A. Livermore, S. S. Foster, Josephine S. Griffing, Madam Anneke, Madam Hericourt, and Phebe A. Hanaford. Committee on Finance—Susan B. Anthony, Anna C. Field, Mary Gage, and R. J. Johnston.

Rev. Mr. Frothingham, of this city, was then introduced, and said he wondered why an invitation had been sent to him; there was no reluctance in his coming, but it seems against the laws of logic that any man should stand upon the platform to advocate woman's cause. This is woman's opportunity and woman's privilege. It is her time to show what she has to show, and to say her word, and speak her own thought to vindicate her own title, and to demonstrate her own claim. It is not for Mr. Phillips or any other distinguishedm man to add anything to the importanc and dignity of this occasion. I would not pay so poor a compliment to the ladies who ask us here, as to say that they need us to advocate their cause; still less will I accuse them of asking us here to set off their brilliance in contrast to our addresses. But they ask us here to obtain our sympathy, and welcome us to the platform because it is a strong platform. They desire that we should share in their earnestness, and share also in their triumph. Having themselves been shut out from all platforms upon which men have argued, they wish now to play the Christian part and ask us to share theirs. I am not here this morning thinking that I can add anything to the strength of the cause, but thinking that perhaps I may gain something from the generous, sweet atmosphere that I am sure will prevail. This is a meeting, if I understand it, of the former Woman's Rights Association, and the subjects which come before us properly are the subjects which concern woman living under laws that concern woman in all her social, civil, and domestic life. But the one question which is of vital moment and of sole prominence, is the question of Suffrage. All other questions have been virtually decided in favor of woman. She has the *entree* to all the fields of labor, she is beginning to have, and will soon have, all her rights. She is now the teacher, preacher, artist, she has a place in the scientific world—in the literary world. She is a journalist, a maker of books, a public reader; in fact, there is no position which woman, as woman, is not entitled to hold and is freely welcomed to possess. She has overcome all the prejudices relating to these positions; but there is one position alone that woman, as woman, does not occupy, and that is the position of a voter. One field alone she does not possess, and that is the political field; one work she is not permitted, even as a woman, to perform, and that is the work of making laws. This question goes down to the bottom—it touches the vital matter of woman's relation to the state. Lucretia Mott said, at the very beginning of this movement, that she feared the worst enemy of our movement would be woman herself. Her love of ease, her fondness for show, her passion for extravagance, her love of pleasure, the subtle spirit of worldliness which has been forced upon woman in the course of ages, cannot easily be thrown off. I believe that thoughtful men, men of culture, men of earnestness, men of aspiration, men of purpose, men of any scientific acquirements, men who are liberal, are ready for Female Suffrage. (Applause.) They may not go the length of women who advocate it; they may not believe that woman is better, or wiser, or more virtuous, more pure, earnest, more devoted than men are. They may not believe that women are any more proof against the seductions of power, against the temptations of political life; they may not believe that politics would be greatly ennobled by the admission of women to the ballot. The question is, is there anything in the constitution of the female mind, of character, and disposition, as to disqualify her for the exercise of the franchise. Has she nothing to say in regard to war and peace; on questions of finance? Is it nothing to her who is sent to European courts? Is it nothing to her how the laws relating to property are enacted? As long as there are fifty, thirty, ten, or even one woman who is capable of exercising this trust or holding this responsibility, it demonstrates that sex, as a sex, does not disfranchise, and the whole question is granted. (Applause.) Here our laws are made by irresponsible people—people who demoralize and debauch society; people who make them live in a large measure by the upholding the institutions that are inherently, forever, and always corrupt. (Applause.) Laws that are made by the people who own dramshops, who keep gambling-saloons, who minister to the depraved passions and vices of either sex. Laws made by the idler, the dissipated, by the demoralized—are they laws? I believe that it is among men an impression that the government of the city would be better if forty thousand or fifty thousand could be disfranchised. If they were prevented from putting a halter round their own necks, it would be well. Let all have a chance and see who are able to take their position among the law-makers. It is true that this government is founded upon caste. Slavery is abolished, but sex is not. I regard this movement as a conservative one. The object is not to extend the ballot especially, but it is to purify the ballot—it is to raise it. This society takes an interest in the temperance movement, and hygienic reforms, and the anti-slavery reform. One reason that the Suffrage is not conceded to woman is that those who refuse to do so, do not appreciate it themselves. (Applause.) As long as the power of Suffrage means the power to steal, to tread down the weak, and get the rich offices into their own hands, those who have the key of the coffers will wish to keep it in their own pockets. (Applause.)

The next speaker was Mrs. Stanton whose address we were able to give last week, it being about all of the proceedings we had time for, before going to press.

Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell followed Mrs. Stanton in a few remarks. She said she could understand that all ignorant men would vote to keep them out of the franchise, but all intelligent men would out-vote them. Would not all men come up and see that their wives and daughters receive their rights? It was safe always to concede rights wherever they were found, and to whomsoever they may belong. (Applause.)

The Committee on Organization then made their re-

port. They recommended as the officers and committees of the society for the ensuing year :

President—Lucretia Mott.

Vice-Presidents at Large—Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Ernestine L. Rose.

Vice-Presidents for the States—John Neal, Maine ; Amenia White, New Hampshire ; James Hutchinson, Jr., Vermont ; William Lloyd Garrison, Julia Ward Howe, Massachusetts ; Elizabeth B. Chase, Rhode Island ; Isabella B. Hooker, Connecticut ; Henry Ward Beecher, Frederick Douglass, Martha C. Wright, of New York ; Portia Gage, New Jersey ; Robert Purvis, Pennsylvania ; Mary A. Livermore, Illinois ; George W. Julian, Iowa ; Benjamin F. Wade, Ohio ; Gilbert Haven, Michigan ; Rev. A. L. Lindsley, Oregon ; Joseph H. Moore, California ; Hon. E. Nye, Nevada ; Hon. A. P. K. Safford, Arizona ; Hon. James H. Ashley, Montana ; Josephine S. Griffing, District of Columbia ; Thomas Garrett, Delaware ; Ellen M. Harris, Maryland ; John C. Underwood, Virginia ; Mrs. J. K. Miller, North Carolina ; Mrs. Pillsbury, South Carolina ; Elizabeth Wright, Texas ; Mrs. Dr. Hawkes, Florida ; Hon. Guy Wines, Tennessee ; Mrs. Francis Minor, Missouri ; Hon. Charles Robinson, Kansas ; Governor Fairchild and Madam Anneke, Wisconsin ; Mrs. Harriet Bishop, Minnesota ; Hon. Mr. Loughridge, Iowa.

Executive Committee—Elizabeth R. Tilton, Lucy Stone, Edwin Studwell, Susan B. Anthony, Antoinette Brown Blackwell, Thomas W. Higginson, Anna C. Field, Edward S. Bunker, Abby Hutchinson Patton, Oliver Johnson, Elizabeth Smith Miller, Margaret E. Winchester, Edward Cromwell, Robert J. Johnston, Mary A. Davis.

Corresponding Secretaries—Mary E. Gage, Harriet Purvis, Henry B. Blackwell.

Treasurer—John J. Merritt.

The Rev. Stephen Foster rose and made a lengthy speech, in which he laid down the principle that when any person, on account of strong objections against them in the minds of some, prevented harmony in a society and efficiency in its operations, those persons should retire from prominent positions in that society. He related how he had taken that course when, as agent of the Anti-Slavery Society, he became obnoxious on account of the course he took on certain questions. He objected, he said, to certain nominations made by the Committee for various reasons. The first was that the persons nominated had publicly repudiated the principles of the society. One of these was the presiding officer.

Mrs. Stanton—I would like you to say in what respect.

Mr. Foster—I will with pleasure, for, ladies and gentlemen, I admire our talented President with all my heart, and love the woman. (Great laughter.) But I believe she has publicly repudiated the principles of the society.

Mrs. Stanton—I would like Mr. Foster to state in what way.

Mr. Foster—What are the e principles? The equality of men—universal suffrage. Now, these ladies stand at the head of a paper, which has adopted as its motto Educated Suffrage. Now, I put myself on this platform as an enemy of educated suffrage, as an enemy of white suffrage, as an enemy of man suffrage, as an enemy of every kind of suffrage except universal suffrage. The Revolution lately had an article headed "That infamous Fifteenth Amendment." It is true it was not written by our President ; yet it comes from a person whom she has over and over again publicly indorsed. Now, I am not willing to take George Francis Train on this platform with his ridicule of the negro and opposition to his enfranchisement.

Mrs. Mary A. Livermore—Is it quite generous to bring George Francis Train on this platform when he has retired from The Revolution entirely ?

Mr. Foster—If The Revolution, which has so often indorsed George Francis Train, will repudiate him because of his course in respect to the negro's rights, I have nothing further to say. But they do not repudiate him. He goes out ; they do not cast him out.

Miss Anthony—Of course we do not.

Mr. Foster—My friend says yes to what I have said. I thought it was so. Then I have other objections to these women being officers of this society. When we organized this society, we appointed a committee for the purpose of having a body which should be responsible for the funds of the society, and we appointed a treasurer to take care of the funds. But if you look into that committee's report, you will find that it shirked its duty. That committee put its funds into the hands of an individual person, and let her run the machine.

Miss Anthony—That is true.

Mr. Foster—And she never kept any books or account of the expenditures.

Miss Anthony (with energy)—*That is false.* Every dollar received by me and every dollar expended, item by item, was presented to the Trust Fund committee of Boston, of which this gentleman is a member. The account was audited, and has been reported to me, by Wendell Phillips, Parker Pillsbury, Abby Kelley Foster, and Charles K. Whipple and they voted me a check of a thousand dollars to balance the account. If my accounts were not straight, these men, not a woman, uneducated, were to blame.

Mr. Foster— I would be glad to believe Miss Anthony, but her statement is not reliable, for Wendell Phillips and Abby Kelley Foster told me differently.

Mrs. Stanton—When any man comes on to this platform and says that a woman does not speak the truth, he is out of order. I shall put the question to the Convention.

Mrs. Stanton then took the vote on the point of order It was decided by the audience that Mr. Foster was out of order.

Miss Anthony—I want to say—

Mr. Foster (who still kept the floor)—Susan, you are out of order. (Laughter.)

Miss Anthony—I want to say that I have been in council several times of late with persons for the purpose of bringing about a reconciliation in this matter, so that there might be no feud brought before the public. You hear this. I do not bring it forward.

Mr. Frederick Douglass—Of course the vote of the Society just passed does not prevent Mr. Foster proceeding in order, if he was out of order. If, however, a different understanding is to be given to it—that no one is to be allowed to criticise the list of officers proposed, it is out of the question for me to utter a word on such a platform. We are used to freedom of speech, and there is a profound conviction in the minds of reformers in general, that error may be safely tolerated, while truth is left free to counteract it. What if Mr. Foster does go on with his criticism on Miss Anthony, and Mrs. Stanton and The Revolution. While Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton and The Revolution have tongues to speak, why not have free speech here about them ?

Mr. Foster—Miss Anthony was allowed to charge me with making a false statement and the President did not interfere. When I returned the compliment I was called to order, for contradicting a woman. (Great applause.) But you cannot draw me into a quarrel. Now I only wanted to tell you why the Massachusetts society cannot coalesce with the party here and why we want these women to retire and leave us to nominate officers who can receive the respect of both parties. The Massachusetts abolitionists cannot co-operate with this society as it is now organized. There are certain persons who could serve the cause, if they only loved it better than themselves. If you choose to put officers here that ridicule the negro, and pronounce the Fifteenth Amendment infamous, why I must retire ; I cannot work with you, You cannot have my support, and you must not use my name. I cannot shoulder the responsibility of electing officers who publicly repudiate the principles of the society.

Mr. Blackwell said : I have been associated with the negotiation mentioned for the reconciliation of these two parties. I want to call your attention to the fact that these scenes on this platform never originate with the women. The facts of the case are these : During the early portion of the society Miss Anthony was given full power over the funds of the society to spend them as she thought best. Some of us thought her expenditures were not judicious ; no one doubted the purity of her motives. The whole financial matter, however, has been settled, and in this way. Miss Anthony brought in a statement of her expenditures to the society. No one doubts that all the expenditures were actually made as she reported. Her statement made due to herself from the society a thousand dollars. Now, Miss Anthony, for the sake of harmony and the good of the cause, has given up her claim for this one thousand dollars. In regard to this we have to say that we are entirely satisfied with the settlement thus made. When a person, for the good of a cause, will make a pecuniary sacrifice of expenditures made, which expenditures many might well consider perfectly wise, although some of us did not, it shows such a spirit that I think that this question might well have been kept back. In regard to the criticisms on our officers, I will agree that many unwise things have been written in The Revolution by a gentleman who furnished part of the means by which that paper has been carried on. But that gentleman has withdrawn, and you, who know the real opinions of Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton on the question of negro suffrage, do not believe that they mean to create antagonism between the negro and the woman question. If they did disbelieve in negro suffrage, it would be no reason for excluding them, We should no more exclude a person from our platform for disbelieving negro suffrage than a person should be excluded from the anti-slavery platform for disbelieving woman suffrage. But I know that Miss Anthony and Mrs. Stanton believe in the right of the negro to vote. We are united on that point. There is now no question of either money or principle between us.

The vote on the report of the Committee on Organization was now taken and the report was adopted by a large majority.

Mr. Douglass—I came here more as a listener than to speak, and I have listened with a great deal of pleasure to the eloquent address of the Rev. Mr. Frothingham and the splendid address of the President. There is no name greater than that of Elizabeth Cady Stanton in the matter of Woman's Rights and Equal Rights, but my sentiments are tinged a little against The Revolution. There was in the address to which I allude, a sentiment in reference to employment and certain names, such as "Sambo," and the gardener and the bootblack and the daughter of Jefferson and Washington, and all the rest that I cannot coincide with. I have asked what difference there is between the daughters of Jefferson and Washington and other daughters. (Laughter.) I must say that I do not see how any one can pretend that there is the same urgency in giving the ballot to woman as to the negro. With us, the matter is a question of life and death. It is a matter of existence, at least, in fifteen states of the Union. When women, because they are women, are hunted down through the cities of New York and New Orleans ; when they are dragged from their houses and hung upon lamp-posts ; when their children are torn from their arms, and their brains dashed out upon the pavement ; when they are objects of insult and outrage at every turn ; when they are in danger of having their homes burnt down over their heads ; when their children are not allowed to enter schools ; then they will have an urgency to obtain the ballot equal to our own. (Great applause.)

A Voice—Is that not all true about black women ?

Mr. Douglass—Yes, yes, yes, it is true of the black woman, but not because she is a woman but because she is black. (Applause.) Julia Ward Howe at the conclusion of her great speech delivered at the convention in Boston last year, said, "I am willing that the negro shall get it before me." (Applause.) Woman! why she has ten thousand modes of grappling with her difficulties. I believe that all the virtues of the world can take care of all the evil. I believe that all the intelligence can take care of all the ignorance. (Applause.) I am in favor of Woman's Suffrage in order that we shall have all the virtue and all vice confronted. Let me tell you that when there were few houses in which the black man could have put his head, this woolley head of mine found a refuge in the house of Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and if I had been blacker than sixteen midnights, without a single star, it would have been the same. (Applause.)

Miss Anthony—I want to say a single word. The old anti-slavery school and others have said that the women must stand back and wait until the other class shall be recognized. But we say that if you will not give the whole loaf of justice and suffrage to an entire people, give it to the most intelligent first. (Applause.) If intelligence, justice, and morality are to be placed in the government, then let the question of woman be brought up first and that of the negro last. (Applause.) While I was canvassing the state with petitions in my hand and had them filled with names for our cause and sent them to the legislature, a man dared to say to me that the freedom of women was all a theory and not a practical thing. (Applause.) When Mr. Douglass mentioned the black man first and the women last, if he had noticed he would have seen that it was the men that clapped and not the women. There is not the woman born who desires to eat the bread of dependence, no matter whether it be from the hand of father, husband or brother ; for any one who does so eat her bread places herself in the power of the person from whom she takes it. (Applause.) Mr. Douglass talks about the wrongs of the negro ; how he is hunted down, and the children's brains dashed out by mobs ; but with all the wrongs and outrages that he to-day suffers, he would not exchange his sex and take the place of Elizabeth Cady Stanton. (Laughter and applause.) No matter, there is a glory —— (Loud applause, completely drowning the speaker's voice.)

Mr. Douglass—Will you allow me ——

Miss Anthony—Yes, anything ; we are in for a fight to-day. (Great laughter and applause.)

Mr. Douglass—I want to know if granting you the right of Suffrage will change the nature of our sexes. (Great laughter.)

Miss Anthony—It will change the pecuniary position of women, it will place her in a position where she can

earn her own bread. (Loud Applause.) She will not then be compelled to take hold of such employments that man chooses for her.

Why, Mr. Douglass, in our Working Women's Associati on we discussed a certain question, and then one woman proposed that at the next meeting we should discuss the question "Why marriages are on the decline." When women are thrown upon their own resources without proper education, their alternatives are starvation or prostitution, and then society turns round upon them. Marriage all over the country is regarded as too expensive a luxury. A man cannot afford to marry. What we demand is, that we shall have the ballot; we shall never get our rights until we have it. The objects of this Society is to acquire this right and privilege. (Applause.)

Mrs. Norton said that there was one thing that Mr. Douglass's remarks left it open for her to say, and that was to defend the government from the inferred inability to grapple with the two questions at once. It legislates upon many questions of landed and other interests at one and the same time, and it has the power to decide the Woman question and the Negro question at one and the same time. (Applause.)

Mrs. Lucy Stone then said: Mrs. Stanton will, of course, advocate the precedence for her sex, and Mr. Douglass will strive for the first position for his, and both are perhaps right. If it be true that the government derives its authority from the consent of the governed, we are safe in trusting that principle to the uttermost. If one has a right to say that you cannot read and cannot vote, then it may be said that you are a woman and cannot vote. We are lost if we turn away from the middle principle and argue for one class. I was once a teacher among fugitive slaves. There was one old man, and every tooth was gone, his hair was white, and his face was full of wrinkles, yet, day after day and hour after hour, he came up to the school-house and tried with patience to learn to read, and by-and-by, when he had spelled out the first few verses of the first chapter of the Gospel of St. John, he said to me, "Now I want to learn to write." I tried to make him satisfied with what he had acquired, but the old man said, "Mrs. Stone, somewhere in the wide world I have a son; I have not heard from him in twenty years; if I should hear from him, I want to write to him, so take hold of my hand and teach me." I did, but before he had proceeded in many lessons, the angels came and gathered him up and bore him to his Father. Let any man speak of an educated suffrage. The gentleman who addressed you claimed that the negroes had the first right to the Suffrage, and drew a picture which only his great word-power can do. He again in Massachusetts, when she had cast a majority in favor of Grant and negro suffrage, stood upon the platform and said that women had better wait for the negro; that is, that both could not be carried, and that the question of the negro had better be that one. But I freely forgave him because he felt as he spoke. But the Woman Suffrage is more imperative than his own; and I want to remind the audience that when he says what the Ku-Kluxes did all over the south, the Ku-Kluxes here in the north in the shape of men, take away the children from the mother, and separate them as completely as if done on the block of the auctioneer. Over in New Jersey they have a law which says that *any* father—he might be the most brutal man that ever existed—*any* father, it says, whether he be under age or not, may by his last will and testament dispose of the custody of his child, born or to be born, and that such disposition shall be good against all persons, and that the mother may not recover her child; and that law modified in form exists over every state in the Union except in New York and Kansas. Now, I really forget what I was going to say, having thus digressed, but—

Mr. Douglass—Perhaps you were going to explain to the audience how much better it would be if women, instead of being compelled to support their own children—suppose it was imposed upon the woman to support her own children—and when they separated take charge of them and relieve us of all responsibility in the matter.

Mrs. Stone—Mr. Wendell Phillips told us in his lecture on Daniel O'Connell how the Irishman is treated in the way of sale, but the husbands of this day have the right to appropriate to themselves all the fruits of the labor of their wives. The woman has an ocean of wrong too deep for any plummet, and the negro, too, has an ocean of wrongs that cannot be fathomed. There are two great oceans; in the one is the black man, and in the other is the woman. But I thank God for the Fifteenth Amendment, and hope that it will be adopted in every state. I will be thankful in my soul if *any* body can get out of the terrible pit, and if the other party can succeed better than we, then let them do it. (Applause.) Another need for Woman Suffrage is, because our government is full of corruption and fraud, and so the men hate the idea of women having anything to do with it. (Applause.)

But I believe that the national safety of the government would be more promoted by the admission of women as an element of restoration and harmony than the other. I believe that the influence of woman will save the country before every other influence. (Applause.) I see the signs of the times pointing to this consummation, and I believe that in some parts of the country women will vote for the President of these United States in 1872. (Applause.)

Evening Session.—At the opening of the evening session Mr. Henry B. Blackwell presented a series of resolutions, after which the Rev. Antoinette Brown Blackwell made a speech of considerable length, in which she went over considerable ground to that delivered by her in the preceding part of the day.

ADDRESS OF MISS OLIVE LOGAN.

Miss Logan was received with loud applause. She was beautifully dressed upon the occasion in a handsome gray silk dress, with scarlet facings and borders, and pompadour corsage. Her hair was fastenad *a la Eugenie*. She said: I see some faces in this room which I did not expect to see here—the features of certain friends who have known me in another sphere of life than this, and who have evidently come here to hear what I shall have to say about Woman's Rights. I am glad to see these faces here, and wish I could induce all my old friends to follow me in that new sphere of life which I have chosen since I have said farewell to the mimic stage. But if, perchance, they have come here to scoff, I hope they will remain until they are ready to pray that God will speed the cause of Woman's Rights. (Applause.) It was my purpose this evening to define my position upon the subject of Woman's Rights, and say what I have to approve of in this movement, and what I disapprove of, and to speak as heartily as I please in praise of the conduct of some of the apostles, and to express my sorrow, my disgust even, at the conduct of certain others who have lost all respect and have trampled upon culture and self-respect in the endeavor to widen woman's field for liberty. (Applause.) But the presence of these friends has induced me to say a few words in explanation of how I became that dreadful creature, a Woman's Rights woman. (Applause.) It has been my custom to talk about the subject with which I am most familiar. When it comes to talking about woman, of course, here is a theme with which I am most familiar; and that reminds me of an old adage, which I thus disprove, about "Familiarity breeding contempt." (Laughter and applause.) I am going to relate my experience, as our Methodist friends say. I had long been on the anxious seat in embracing the religion of woman's rights, though I reject the idiosyncracies of many of its followers and some of the tenets of this religion. I stand here to-night full of faith, inborn faith, in the right of women to advance boldly in all ennobling paths, and full of faith in her right to do with her hands all that she is able to do, and what her brain and intellect are equal to, and to reject all the drudgeries that men dislike and thus think and say that women are peculiarly made to do. I have full faith in her right to enter into the arena of politics and set something right in politics which is now all wrong. (Applause.) This is my text, and it goes no further. It does not include woman's right to infringe the decencies of life and to outrage propriety, or to do anything that can lower her sex—(applause)—and when any woman presumes upon the esteem of these rights so far as to unsex herself, I will be the first to point the finger of scorn. (Great applause.) I am not ready yet to see women wear trousers (great laughter and applause)—nor men wear petticoats (renewed applause)—but that is a branch of the subject on which I am going to speak more fully at a future time. I set out now to relate my experience, and if there are any here who do not take any interest in the relation, they can take a nap until Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony speak, and they will wake them up pretty soon. (Laughter.) In my former sphere of life, the equality of woman was fully recognized so far as the form of labor and the amount of reward for her labor are concerned. As an actress, there was no position in which I was not fully welcomed if I possessed the ability and industry to reach it. For if I could become a Ristori, my earnings would be as great as hers, and if I was a man and could become a Kean, a Macready, or a Booth, the same reward would be obtained. If I reach no higher rank than what is called a "walking lady," I am sure of the same pay as a man who occupies the position of a "walking gentleman." In that sphere of life, be it remembered, I was reared from childhood; to that place I was so accustomed that I had no idea it was a privilege denied my sex to enter into almost every other field of endeavor Whatever evils are attached to the theatrical world—and no one deplores them more deeply than I—I bade farewell to the mimic stage four years ago. What my reasons were it is unnecessary to state at length, but one of them certainly was not a hope of better pay in any other field of labor. As an actress, the money I earned was more evenly proportioned to the labor performed than it has ever been since; but my hope to succeed in literature was strong, and I entered upon my new scene of labor with hope and desire, though knowing well I should not earn in literature what I had been earning. But I found myself in this line on an equality with man again. If I wrote a good article, I got as good pay as a man; and Heaven knows the pay to man or woman was small enough. (Applause.) In that field, for a long time, I did not yet feel an interest in the subject of Women's Rights, and stood afar off, looking at the work of those revolutionary creatures, Mrs. Stanton and Miss Anthony. The idea of identifying myself with them was as far removed from my thoughts as becoming a female gymnast and whirling upon a trapeze. But once I wrote a lecture, and one night I delivered it. Adhering to my practice of speaking about that which was most familiar, my lecture was about the stage. I lectured, not because I had a shadow of a woman's right to lecture, but simply because I thought the pay would be better in that department; the idea that I was running counter to anybody's prejudice, never entered my head. And I was so far removed that I never read a page of The Revolution in my life, and, what is more, I did not want to; and when Miss Anthony passed down Broadway and saw the bills announcing my lecture she knew nothing about me, and what is more, *she* did not want to. (Laughter.) She made a confession to me afterwards. She said to herself, "Here is a lady going to lecture about the stage," looking through her blessed spectacles, as I can see her (laughter)—and I can hear her muttering contemptuously "a woman's rights women." (Laughter.) That is not so very long ago, a little over a year. I met a lady the other day who thought I was a speaker for ten years. But I am only fifteen months old in this business, but the greater length I go in it the more I find myself enabled to do. Since this great question of woman's rights was thrust upon me, I am asked to define my position; wherever I have travelled in the fifteen months I have had to do so. A lady of society asked me "Are you in favor of Woman's Rights?" I had either to answer yes or no, and "Yes," I said. (Applause.) I have met this sort of bigotry in almost every community where I lectured. In the city of Norwich, Connecticut, there was a man, whose name I will not tell—(laughter)—I will call him Mr. Smith, that is vague enough. (Laughter.) Well, Mr. Smith is a good church member, and has a wife and daughter. On the morning after my lecture the daughter went to the neighboring town by railroad. She took the same train I did, and sat in the seat directly behind me. She was a loud talker, and presently a nice young man of her acquaintance also came in and sat down beside her. I said that she was a loud talker, and he was a loud talker too. (Laughter.) Presently I heard her say, "Did you go to that lecture last night?" "What, that Olive Logan? no, I don't approve of woman lectures," (the speaker imitating a rough voice that induced great laughter.) This was very interesting to me, so I turned round in my seat, and sat myself comfortably, so that I could look them in the face. They did not seem to mind me in the least. "Pau went to that lecture," said the young lady. "You don't say so; I thought your pau did not approve of it. What made him go?" "Well, he did not mean to go, for I wanted him to go and take mau and me; but he was going down to the post-office, and he just looked in at the door and he saw Deacon Croaker there, and he thought that if Deacon Croaker could go in he could." (Great laughter.) This was a revelation to me. It awakened in my mind two ideas: first, that there was a prejudice against a woman as a lecturer, and second, it is a prejudice which leads men to act just as Deacon Croaker. I did not know who Deacon Croaker saw within the hall that he went in—(laughter)—at any rate, from that moment forth I was prepared for that species of bigotry, and being prepared I acted accordingly. Frankly, my chief regret was that I did not get my eyes opened before I went to Boston to lecture; there I distinguished him for the first time, and it almost demoralized me and nearly robbed me of the power of speech. In that audience in Boston Deacon Croaker was present—(laughter)—and unfortunately for me Deacon Croaker did not approve of me, and rose to his feet, heaved a deep sigh, and walked out. (Laughter.) Immediately Mr. Smith—half a dozen Mr. Smiths—who

had followed Deacon Croaker in, rose to their feet heaved deep sighs, and followed him out. (Laughter.) Some of my friends, on the strength of my Boston encounter with Deacon Croaker, placed me on a basis of antagonism with Boston—a position which I decline to occupy. The influences of a lifetime are not to be eradicated so easily, and my esteem for Boston is as strong as it always was. (Applause.) But my experience of Deacon Croaker was a trifling thing in comparison with what I met and saw in other places. I found, in my travels, in a New England town, an educated, cultivated woman, who found herself obliged to earn her livelihood, after living a life of luxury and ease. Her husband, who had provided her with every material comfort, had gone to the grave. All his property was taken to pay his debts, and she found herself penniless. What was that woman to do? She has turned to teaching school for the present, but that will hardly provide her with bread. Besides, she is ambitious of nobler things. In man ambition for nobler things is commended; why not in woman? She appeals to me what I would advise her to do; asks if I would advise her to go upon the stage. Alas! no; I cannot advise any woman to go upon the stage with the demoralizing influences which seem there to prevail more every day, when its greatest rewards are won by brazen-faced, stained, yellow-haired, padded-limbed creatures—(applause)—while actresses of the old school, well trained, well qualified, decent, cannot earn a living. (Applause.) But this woman wants to do something. She looks abroad among the usual employments of women, and her only resource seems to be that little bit of steel around which cluster so many associations—the needle—and by the needle, with the best work and the best wages, the most she can get is two dollars a day. With this, poor as it is, she will be content; but she finds an army of other women looking for the same, and most of them looking in vain. These things have opened my eyes to a vista such as I never saw before. They have touched my heart as it never before was touched. They have aroused my conscience to the fact that this woman question is the question of the hour, and that I must take part in it. (Applause.) I take my stand boldly, proudly, with such earnest, thoughtful women as Susan B. Anthony, Mrs. Stanton and Anna Dickinson, to work together with them for the enfranchisement of women, for her elevation personally and socially, and above all for her right and opportunity to work at such employments as she can follow, with the right to such pay as men get for the same. (Applause.) Those young friends, for the especial benefit of whom I have related my experience, I feel, will sympathise with us in these views. But if they, being women, are not moved to join with us, labor for the advancement of woman—if they will not do this for the sake of those who are not able to fight for themselves, at least do not throw obstacles in our way. There are thousands of women who have no vital interest in this question. They are happy wives and daughters, and may they ever be so; but they cannot tell how soon their husbands and brothers may be lost to them, and then they will find, as so many have found themselves, destitute and penniless with no resources in themselves against misfortune. Then it will be for such that we labor. (Applause.) Our purpose is to help those who need help, helpless widows and orphan girls. There is no need to do battle in this matter. In all kindness and gentleness we urge our claims. There is no need to declare war upon man, for the best of men in this country are with us heart and soul. (Applause.) These are with us in greater numbers even than our own sex. (A Voice—"That is true." Great applause.) Do not say that we seek to break up family peace and fireside joy; far from it. (Applause.) We interfere not with the wife or daughter who is happy in the strong protection thrown around her by a father or husband, but it is cowardice for such to throw obstacles in the way of those who need help. More than this, for the sake of the helpless woman, to whose unhappiness in the loss of beloved ones is added the agony of hard and griping want. For the sake of the poor girl who has no power to cope with the hard actualities of a desolate life, while her trembling feet tread the crumbling edge of the dark abyss of infamy. For the sake of this we are pleading and entertaining this great question, and withhold your answer till at least you have learned to say, "God speed."

The next speaker was Miss Phoebe Cozzens, a young law student from St. Louis, who gave, in a most agreeable and forcible manner, one of the best addresses of the evening, a report of which is promised for THE REVOLUTION next week.

Mrs. Mary A. Livermore, the proprietor of the *Agitator*, a Woman's Rights organ published in Chicago, closed the evening session with a long address, the principal portion of which was a relation of her knowledge of the hardships endured by women on account of their legal disabilities, and of the incompetency and utter selfishness of politicians and men generally, as seen by her in her experiences as a nurse during the war, and during some time spent in Washington. Mrs. Livermore was heard with the deepest attention, no impatience being manifested by the very large audience, although it was nearly ten o'clock before she took the platform.

FROM REV. A. D. MAYO.

CINCINNATI, Ohio, May 7, 1869.

MY DEAR MRS. STANTON: I regret that I cannot be present in New York at your convention. But I have the confident assurance that the good cause of the elevation of American womanhood is stoutly going forward, and does not need speeches so much as practical effort by women themselves, for its complete success.

Truly yours, A. D. MAYO.

FROM DR. G. KINKEL, JR.

ZURICH, Switzerland, April 28, 1869.

TO MRS. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, New York:

MADAM: I beg to acknowledge the receipt of an invitation to the Anniversary of the American Equal Rights Association, to be held in New York and Brooklyn on May 12, 13 and 14. I am sorry that pressing occupations prevent me from being present at your gathering; I am also unable at the present moment to detail to you my more precise views on the subject; let me, however, say but thus much: I have the profound conviction that the noble ideas you are advocating will first be realized in America, and will, at no distant day, burst like a flood over the Atlantic and revolutionize the present state of opinion in the Old World. You may be sure that I shall lend you all the aid in my power, insignificant as this must necessarily be for the present. Wishing your undertaking all possible success, I remain, Madam, truly yours, DR. G. KINKEL, JR.

FROM GEN. P. F. BUTLER.

LOWELL, Mass., May 7, 1869.

MY DEAR MADAM: While I sympathize with the objects of your movement, and have found it difficult to answer the argument why those who instruct our children and train up the voters should not be competent to vote themselves, yet my duties will prevent my being present on the anniversary of your Association, according to the terms of your kind invitation.

I have the honor to be very respectfully yours,

BENJ. F. BUTLER.

Mrs. E. C. Stanton, No. 49 East 23d street, New York.

FROM CLARA BARTON.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 11th, 1869.

DEAR MRS. STANTON AND SUSAN B. ANTHONY: You will, I am sure, pardon this single reply to your two fold invitation to be present at your anniversary, when you know that I have waited days for the strength to write even this. And now I can only say God bless you for all you are doing. I honor you for it, and love your noble work, because it is for the good of humanity, the oppressed and lowly, my sex, and my country.

I do not repine that you have been able to accomplish so much, and I, so little; how gladly would I lay my arm beside yours, so strong and ready, *but its strength is gone.* The years of unsheltered days and nights, the sun and storms, the "dews and damps" have done their work, and now, with bitter tears, I turn my face away from the land I have loved so well, and seek, in foreign climes, perchance, a little of the good strength once lent me here. If ever any of it returns and I can aid your noble cause abroad, you will tell me.

If strong enough, I must sail from New York for Europe in a few weeks, and though I may be denied the pleasure of seeing you in your new home, I will still hope for a glimpse of your faces, and a parting grasp of the hand.

May you both live until children will wonder what *ever could* have been the *necessity* of a meeting like this, and you still have strength and memory enough to relate to them the doings of the old days of barbarisms, and hear the ring of their merry voices as they cry, "Good! good! tell us more of the funny people who used to think mother would go away and neglect baby if they let her vote. Did women go *to church then*, Mrs. Stanton?" And you, looking archly over your spectacles your deep voice and snowy curls both trembling a little, reply, "Yes, my dears, *three times a day (but the babies were dreadfully neglected)*".

Yours, CLARA BARTON.

UP BROADWAY.

BY ELEANOR KIRK.

CHAPTER XI.

THERE was no time to be lost. My two newly assumed responsibilities must be cared for and that immediately; so the next morning I started for Wall street on my "soliciting" expedition. The men whom I most relied upon for aid were not at their respective offices. "On the street," I was informed: "Over to the Stock Exchange." "Be in presently," and so I walked on to the corner of Broad and Wall, and looked down on to the sea of black hats in front of that elegant building, around which Bulls and Bears do congregate, and wished that it were possible for soul to speak to soul in some wordless electrical manner, and that the owners of those beavers and felts might be directed to file past the apple stand, by which I stood, ruminating and sympathizing with my great desire to aid the unfortunate, place in my hands plentiful means for so doing; and for a moment, forgetful of haste and necessity, considered the electric telegraph, how news was transmitted from individual to individual, from state to state, and from the new to the old world, and marvelled at the genius and learning which had brought the distant into such intimate and glorious connection, and then I wondered why a man or woman with quick, loving sympathies, and moral earnestness might not be a sufficiently powerful battery to so act upon the invisible wires which connect brain with brain, and heart with heart, as to make speech and solicitation unnecessary; but the crowd kept up its auctioneer-like howling, and I was nothing but a little speck in the universe, a very important speck in my own estimation, with no power to attract, or reach the great heart of humanity, except with my tongue, and that tiny member, generally willing to play its part in the great drama of life, never felt less like wagging than on this long to be remembered occasion. I was growing metaphysical. That would never do. The buxom old appple woman quite as deep in the bustle of trade as her more reckless brother down the street—looked at me wonderingly. I walked on a few steps, and presently a cheery voice said,

"Good morning, Mrs. Kirke, I am blessed if I wasn't thinking of you just a moment ago;" and a kind hand grasped mine. One of the individuals I was looking for, you see. "All well at home, I hope," he continued, "Little folks smart? You look sad, no trouble, I trust?"

"We are all in usual health," I replied; "but I came over this morning on purpose to see you. Can you spare me five minutes at the office?"

"Yes, my dear child, thirty of them, if you will excuse me while I deposit this troublesome stock. Dame Erie has been on a regular bender this last week; old enough to know better, you understand, but she keeps me stepping round pretty lively; walk right down to the office, and I'll be with you in a jiffy."

"I hope Erie has treated *you* very well," I remarked, as, a few moments after, he seated himself by my side.

"What poor unfortunate is in a tight place *now?*" he inquired, good naturedly. "I know *somebody* is in need, by the looks of your face

Yes, Erie, the jilt, thanks to a bright eye to the windward has treated me uncommonly well; and now, tell me who's in trouble, and all about it. It is rather curious that I should have been thinking about you this morning."

I had only now to relate that part of my story I had thought best to impart. The responsive chord was struck without a word, and I was soon in the midst of my narrative.

"Bless your heart, yes; made *comfortable*, of course she shall be. By George! that is wonderful! I suppose there are hosts of just such cases in this modern Sodom," he interrupted, as I stopped to take breath. "Glad you came to me. Let's see, how much money ought to do this? Have you made any calculation? Two hundred dollars, eh? That ought to fix things up a little I should think. Good gracious, the poor child is actually weeping," as I turned my head to hide the tears of thankfulness.

Two hundred dollars! To have raised *half* that sum I expected to have been compelled to make at least four "soliciting" visits, and what wonder I was glad when begging was so distasteful! My friend did not begin to comprehend the depth of my gratitude. How could he? Conventionalisms as wicked as they are stupid, came in to prevent any real heart-felt demonstrations; but he will know all about it some day; not perhaps until we have both stepped over to the great other side; but I'll show him then, see if I don't. As I passed out he recalled me with—

"Look here; I bought my sister, a year ago, a real nice Wheeler and Wilson Sewing Machine. Her health is very delicate, and she is not able to use it at all. If it would be of any service to her, she can have it and welcome; and also all the work of our family, that is, if she proves herself a good and reliable seamstress, which I have no doubt she will."

God hadn't opened that door a crack. It was not even ajar, no indeed! The portals were thrown wide open and relief had come rolling in, in a manner totally unexpected. It is perhaps unnecessary to state that I accepted the machine, and with it more faith in God, and more in humanity. I went my way rejoicing. Yes, I mean it, more faith in God; although I am aware that expression is not exactly orthodox. A Christian's faith should be just as bright through the clouds and pelting rain, through the thunder storms of trouble, through death and disaster, as when the sunshine of happiness irradiates and makes glad the soul; at least, I suppose it should be, but I cannot make it seem exactly natural. Wouldn't it be nice to take a peep behind the great black curtain, and see what it all means?

I found my friend anxiously awaiting my arrival, her dark eyes full of that new light of hope and determination which had dawned for the first time the day before. I went about my little comforts and improvements with as light a heart as if this tumble down old shanty had been an establishment on Fifth Avenue, and I its proprietor. It was the home of virtue and peace, and I hoped to make it one of contentment.

(To be Continued.)

TELL me that a woman like Martha Washington is not fit to have a voice in the government that rules over her and her children! I think Kansas will be the leveller in this great question. Oh, how ashamed New York and Massachusetts well be when that little new-formed State has led off in this endorsement, and the other Western States follow in her track.—Hon. E. D. Culver, New York.

EQUAL RIGHTS, VS. THE "SOCIAL EVIL."

ARTICLE II.

I come now to the consideration of the influence upon men of those whom we may call the moral, intellectual women. Because, as I have said before, the majority of men yield more readily to the sensual attraction of women than to what is best and loveliest in the sex, it is more difficult to show how much influence the pure women really have had on men's thoughts and actions. Yet most of our literary women are of this stamp, and through their writings, a current of pure morality steadily flows in upon the reading world, and slowly but surely cleanses and purifies a portion of the filth and slum of sensuality from the human mind.

Following closely upon an age when literature itself was almost coarsely sensual, came a woman whose pure life and writings are yet bearing fruit in the precept and example which Hannah More gave through both. A delicate purity of morals is faithfully and unceasingly inculcated throughout her voluminous works. Even in these days, when every tenth woman you meet dabbles at least occasionally in literature, and the sex is establishing a literature of its own, having in its ranks, female philosophers, female politicians, female romance writers and female poets—Hannah More is not forgotten for newer favorites, and few libraries are considered complete without a set of her works. Who may calculate the good these writings have accomplished, and who can point to a sentence breathing of sensualism throughout them? Virtue, fostered to perhaps puritanic severity; vice, rebuked and stripped of the grace that hid its deformity—these were the objects she had in view, and for this she has been appreciated and revered by all that is best and truest in men.

From out a sea of passion, distorted characters, in the midst of a bloody age of transition, there arose a woman of whom her sex may well be proud, to whom men may well bow the head in lowly reverence. A pure, brave, intellectual, influential women. I refer to Madame Roland. It was not the magnetism of sensual attractions which made her the leader of the purest party of the French Revolution. It was not the dreamy glance of voluptuous languor in her beautiful eyes that drew those patriotic, liberty-loving men towards her. It was not the caressing, electric touch of soft, white hands, not the hinted indelicacy of carefully arranged drapery around the noble form that won these men's allegiance to this queenly woman. "Her life," says one of her biographers, and one inimical to her on account of her religious views, "was morally faultless." The burning fire of patriotism and love of liberty alone illuminated those changeful orbs, the hands met the grasp of men in great physical danger with a firmness of devotion to a common cause which only death could weaken. The proud, queenly form was instinct with the nobility of a great calm soul, equal to any emergency. For all the dainty arts of a low sensuality she had no time, no taste, no patience. She shamed men, weaker than herself, from cowardice of death by the unflinching courage with which she met it. "There, in her still completeness," says Carlyle, "she, if thou knew it, is the noblest of all French women."

It is women like these who awaken in both men and women all the dormant nobility of which the human soul is possessed. The influence upon men of such a pure, true womanhood is like the influence of fresh air and sunshine upon plants and animals, making them grow stronger, healthier and more instinct with real life; while the momentary stimulant of sensual passion only tends to weaken and degrade both men and women.

But while women are deprived of their just rights by the strong hands of men, they will grow, like all other defrauded beings, cunning and truckling. They will fawn upon and flatter and yield to men, to achieve their own ends. Consequently with their own blinding passions, and woman's short-sighted policy in league against them, men are kept at a lower level of goodness than they would otherwise attain. The pure, the true, the faithful, the wise, steadily sink below par. Herein, Nature, at least, has given us equal rights. Men and women, we sink together, mutually dragging each other down, growing only more sensual with each new sin yielded to. But so also shall we rise together in the glorious day now dawning when woman, given the ballot, shall dare help man to think, and do that which is wisest and best for both. When every woman's hand shall grow stronger for the right, feeling the mighty power of the ballot in it, when, instead of bringing her mind down to all the little feminine arts that may transiently entangle man's fancy and hold him to her side, while they are practiced, she shall rise to her intellectual altitude with gifts equal if not the same. Only thus will what is possible for man and woman ever be achieved, And without this the "Social Evil" will never remove from society its blighting curse. *With* the ballot for woman it *may* remain; without it, it *must* remain, keeping ever as its companions, degradation and desolation for both sexes.

SARA A. UNDERWOOD.

A WOMAN'S RIGHTS MAN WITH A VENGEANCE.

Editors of the Revolution:

THE writer of this is a Woman's Rights man, in a certain sense, and being a reader of THE REVOLUTION would like your advice and counsel. I am a member of the church, and consider myself a religious man, have the "gift of prayer," and am regarded by my wife as an exemplary christian. When I say I am a "Woman's Rights man," I mean, of course, when these rights do not come in conflict with my own. I will illustrate:

Some three years ago, I married into a family consisting of a widow lady and three daughters, one of them a married lady (Mrs. Smith), Emeline (the one I married), and Mary, commonly called "Aunt Mary."

The old lady lost her only son in the war. I have, therefore, *assumed* a fatherly care over them, Smith not being much inclined so to act; besides my religious character fits me for so responsible a trust. The old lady is a christian and takes THE REVOLUTION, and pays for it, and as it costs me nothing I read it. I think it a little ultra, and merely give this as a friendly hint. Recently, there has been a slight unpleasantness in our circle, which shows the folly of this ultra "Woman's Rights" idea, and I think the teachings of your paper have, in no small degree, caused me this trouble. The facts are these: The old lady—Emeline's mother—authorized me to receive a sum of money—$1,200—the price of some property belonging to her and her daughter. Emeline had to receive one-fifth, and the balance be-

longed to her mother and sisters. I will here say that when I was courting Emeline I made her some presents, and frequently took her car-riding, and to sacred concerts, etc., all of which cost me money, and for which I had never received a dollar in return. As I had now the money belonging to the family in my hands, I, *of course*, deducted the amount thus spent on Emeline from the shares of Grandmamma and "Aunt Mary," and paid them the balance. I did not take any from Mrs. Smith, as she has a "natural protector" in Smith, and I did not care to have any trouble with a man. I have always avoided having any trouble with men. In matters of business, give me a woman to deal with; they only use their tongues and shed a few tears. Men use something more persuasive.

The only man I ever did quarrel with came very near taking from me my Emeline, but I finally drove him from the field by the use of that weapon which never fails me—slander. But I am digressing.

Grandmamma and Aunt Mary do not like my manner of collecting an old debt due—if at all—by my Emeline. They even go so far as to say that I have robbed them, and I know by the way Smith and his wife look at and cut me, they, too, think so. I think I have a good action at law against all of them for defamation, not that I care for my character, but I *would* like the balance of their money. I feel that I could do good with it.

I forgot to say that Emeline's first husband was a clergyman, and would have scorned to take her mother's money, and I often think that his troubled spirit frowns on me and Emeline for this act. Emeline, who at first wept over it, now says I am right, and rather admires it. This I regard as an evidence of her obedience, and deference to my superior tact. Grandmamma and Aunt Mary say it only shows the truth of what The Revolution says—that men *will* trample on women and that their wives are so enslaved by custom they assent to it. They refuse any longer to associate with us, and we are regarded as their enemies, just because I played them smart.

I cannot look one of the family in the face; for that matter, I never could, as the only certificate of character I brought them was a divorce from a former wife—"a kitchen wench," as I used to call her. She is now, alas! the inmate of a house of prostitution, and occasionally I think that perhaps I drove her there. But I try to drive away these foolish ideas.

I am a Treasury clerk, and strongly favor the twenty per cent. measure recently defeated in Congress, and as the amount I took from Grandma and Aunt Mary is exactly twenty per cent. on my salary, I think you will see another reason for my collecting it. Were it not that I fear it may leak out and cost me my place, I would be comparatively happy, as my Emeline is a treasure, and you know a "*true* woman" soon learns to look on her "natural protector" as right in all he does. Otherwise she fails to obey the Scripture command: "Wives, be subject unto your husbands in all things."

I ask you to give this very imperfect sketch of my recent troubles a place in your valuable paper, and even if it should fail to commend me to your moral sensibilities, I am sure you will regard it as a *keen* trick. Josiah.

"Evil communications corrupt good manners." It is evident that Emaline "has learned too much of her husband at home," and that her moral sensibilities have been blunted. The "old lady" and "Aunt Mary" paid dear for a "protector." What a blessing that all these "oaks" to which we "vines" cling are not like this rotten-hearted "Josiah!"

THE HUSBAND OF TO-DAY.

ARTICLE II.

The family is somewhat, and ought to be entirely synonomous with the home. In thought they cannot be disconnected. Just as soon as the family is in existence and home instituted, its comfort, and its happiness should be the first aim. The well-being of home should be the primary idea. Is it? No, in thousands and tens of thousands of families it is not.

What is the aim? Riches, and these for the sake of position in life. Money is to be got, honestly if it can be, but get it somehow. To this greed, not only the ordinary comfort, but in many instances, the health of the wife is sacrificed.

A few years ago, when a cooking controversy was running through the *Tribune*, Greeley said he was "deluged with letters, in which the writers complained in the roundest terms, in the bitterest Saxon, that they were the drudges, the household slaves of money-getting husbands, who, provided they could lay by year after year money (one lady said $3,000) of profits, are either indifferent to, or do not appreciate, the cares, sorrows, and over-toil of their wives."

The article from which the above is an extract, continued to speak of the position of wives in this country—"with all the heavy claims of maternity, being made to work full up to the mark, like the man day-laborer. From noon to night—and at night interrupted by the thousand anxieties of a mother—she is going in the kitchen, the nursery, the wash-house, the dairy, a ceaseless round of hard, unrelieved drudgery."

Some of these letters of wives spoke of the treatment of their husbands as dooming them to a dreary slavery in the free states, and that while the matron was thus compelled to be cook, washerwoman, dairy-woman, housemaid, scullion, nurse, slave, the husband was a tyrant, penurious upon everything but his own vices; that he drank, smoked, chewed, or frolicked, and Greeley closed his article upon these letters—which was entitled "Mean Husbands—Enslaved Wives"—by begging husbands, if they "were making money, not to hoard it all, but to use it generously and wisely for the purposes of a decent life, rather than that by their penuriousness they might be a little richer and a great deal meaner at the end of the year."

To this intense greed of money, not only the comfort, but the health of the wife is many times sacrificed. The birth of children is opposed by the husband, and if those unwished-for accidencies do escape the perils of their immature state, perils many times caused by the husband's constant frowning and fretting at the expense which is coming upon him, and at others, by the husband's positive command to the mother to prevent their complete organization and birth—if they escape these perils of hatred, and are born alive, what then?

Is this and every successive child looked upon by the Husband of To-Day as a blessing from God, thankfully received, and conscientiously educated, as was done by the patriarchs of old?

Let the conscience of the Husband of To-Day answer to himself. I know it is seldom the case. The Husband of To-Day is totally averse to a large family, on the score of expense, and thus the natural affections are crushed, and families of American children are "dying out," the statistics tell us.

One or two children may be tolerated, but a patriarchal family is, by the husband, deemed a curse, because money must be spent upon it, "in order to keep up appearances," if for no other reasor.

How, think you, the wife feels in view of children unwelcome to her husband?

Hers is the "greatly multiplied sorrow," and for long months, languor and discomfort of body, the easily disturbed mental equipoise, the condition in which she feels her dependence upon her husband for comfort, for happiness, for encouragement, for help and sympathy, this condition is hers. Does she receive this encouragement and sympathy? I have sometimes thought that period of the wife's life was the one deliberately chosen by the husband to misuse her—and that neither for the mother nor the child has he heart-felt, conscientious, kindly feeling.

I speak not now of the rude speeches common to low minds, neither of that, or of the jesting allusions passing between such a husband and his compeers, but of the husband's conduct towards the wife herself. How many children come into the world, mentally, morally, and physically dwarfed, from the usage the wife and mother received from the father and husband before their birth!

What is the impression of the world at large concerning wives? It is that they are meek, uncomplaining, long-suffering, ready to give up their own wishes, to delve, and drudge, and economize, in order that husbands may get along in the world. How many thousands and tens of thousands of times has the wife's life been shortened by this overwork, this hard drudgery and pinching economy at a time when she required rest and ease!

Many wives are not treated, from the mere animal point of view, with the consideration which a breeder of stock gives his cattle. Are children, whose immortal souls receive an eternal bias before their birth, of less consequence than Durhams or Alderneys, than Herefords or Merino's, than a breed of fast horses?

The wife feels all this. She knows her overwork, her wearing cares, her unrefreshing sleep, but many a time with it all, the relaxation she needs, the help for which she asks (and for which the future of the world asks in the well-being of her unborn child), if not in words, yet by her whole being, is refused. "I can't afford it," is the cry.

Money is in plenty to spare for tobacco and other kindred indulgences—for some blooded cow, for investing in stocks, for "party purposes," or for the thousand and one other fancies and desires of the husband's heart. I can look about me now and see elegant mansions, elegantly furnished, carriages and horses and other luxuries for which the wife toiled and underwent privations in order that the husband could get them and be called "rich" by the world, and which she never enjoyed; for over-work and under-comforts, snatched her from her young children before the splendid home was ready to be enjoyed.

Think you not, if the wife was "endowed," in reality, with all the husbands' worldly goods, or if she had legal control of her own earnings as member of the marital firm, think you she would not have procured, at least, the simple

necessaries required by herself and her child? Yet this Husband of To-Day did not furnish them to her. One of these I mention, grew rich by lucky speculation—for Wall street is not alone in New York. "Dabbling in stocks," is a favorite excitement of the Husband of To-Day, and while this wife remained at home, rearing her family, doing her own house-work, acting as cook, and dairymaid, and nurse, and seamstress; in this last capacity turning her old dresses, or re-dying them for herself, or if too far gone for that, cutting them over for the children, he was riding at his ease about the country, talking with this man about Erie, and the next about oil, stopping, as he passed along, to look at the $3,000 ram that was to work such wonders in improving the sheep of the country.

Now, that wife lies in her grave, and her orphaned boy and girl are taught to call another woman mother.

Verily are the sorrows of womankind multiplied when they take to themselves the Husband of To-Day.

SPHERE OF MAN.

The masculine element has ever been predominant and its sway has been the nearest to supremacy in barbarian ages. Among savages women are merely slaves; in enlightened nations they have a wider influence and are more respected, though as yet they have never been recognized (except nominally) as equals.

To-day even, man, as he stands in the majority, denies the equality of woman. We judge him not by his words, for these are divers and contradictory, but by his actions. He so far believes his own superiority as to maintain that it is his prerogative to *decide for woman her sphere*, thereby affirming, in the strongest manner, his belief that she is in a state of tutelage. He, therefore, compels her to obey laws against which she protests. By a most round about and circumlocutionary method he endeavors to substantiate his right to dictate. He first appeals to woman's love of his approbation; tells her if she does not yield him the sole right to govern, he *will not respect her*. He then prates of his magnanimity—strange boast after such a threat!

As in times not long past, in his esteem for slavery of the negro, he made the pulpit hoarse with cries of "Cursed be Canaan," so now in his esteem for the slavery of woman, he quotes Moses, St. Paul, and Milton. He affirms that women have all the rights they want—that they are treated with more consideration than men, yet so far as he is honest and intelligent, he will not deny that *he has made laws and a public opinion vastly in his favor*.

Finally, as women will still read, and admire, and reiterate the Declaration of Independence, believing it as much adapted their sex as to his, he throws off all subterfuge and diplomatic art, and, speaking as he feels and believes, says plainly: Women do not *know enough* to govern themselves,

I have watched him narrowly; sometimes merry with laughter on account of his egotism, sometimes indignant and wrathful because of his injustice, and again sadly deploring his blindness. In every mood I have analyzed his objections (not arguments) against our having the exercise of our rights; and I find that these, in every instance, have their root in great distrust of womanhood and as great faith in himself.

Such is man as he *is*—as he rules our nation to-day. I contend he is out of his sphere. He has a right to believe us his inferiors, but he has no charter, except the one he gets from his own illogical egotism, by which he derives a right to decide for us where we belong. We are neither minors, nor idiots, nor maniacs, that it behooves him to force upon us his guardianship. God has given to us our natures, and in these He has indicated to each one of us what is our proper sphere. We do not wish to be stretched on the rack of man's conception of what we should be—we have neither a right nor a desire to sacrifice our individuality to his. We would, therefore, remind him that if he would keep within his "own proper province," he must so far mind his own business as to leave us to determine our sphere for ourselves.

Power is sublime and worthy of reverence, so far as it is within legitimate bounds; but when it descends to aggression, it is villainous. Our forefathers plainly demonstrated to England that she was out of her sphere in endeavoring to hold them, as a nation, in a state of tutelage. I contend that men are as far out of their sphere in striving to hold us in a like state.

I would not restrict man's sphere only so far as it is restricted by the moral law. Not being men, we have no standard by which to judge what is man's province; but we know our own better than he does, and we do affirm first, last, midst, and without ending," that so far as we are responsible, so far we have rights, and so far as we have rights, so far we have duties, and so far as we have duties, so far we should fulfil them; and the "powers that be," who declare our responsibilites and duties, but deny our rights, are illogical, unmanly, and out of their sphere.

E. F.

Fairfield, Ct.

BOSTON WORKING WOMEN AGAIN.

Editors of the Revolution:

The light thrown upon the miserable wages paid to the poor working women of Boston for their work has raised the ire of some of the leading journals, and they call loudly for a denial of the truthfulness of the statements or an admission that they were greatly exaggerated. It cannot be done. The truth is not half told. More light will only reveal more awful facts, and more suffering than has yet been spoken of. 'Tis of no use to shut our eyes to the fact that woman's condition grows more insufferable while man grows more helpless to do anything in her behalf.

I rejoice always in your noble efforts to place woman in her appropriate sphere, and when her terrible sufferings stare me in the face, until my soul almost dies within me, The Revolution comes up before me and silently rebukes my want of faith. God only knows how many despairing souls you lift from the dust of dead hopes by your healthy, fearless action. The Boston Working Women's League, which has grown out of the convention, grows slowly, but is taking deep root. The organization means something more than mere surface work, and will accept for woman nothing less than the ballot, and the right to hold any office in the gift of the People. The New England Labor Reform League holds its next Convention here in the Meionaon on Tuesday and Wednesday, May 25th and 26th. The following is the list of Officers: President—E. H. Heywood. Vice-Presidents—Dr. Wm. F. Channing of R. I., Mrs. E. L. Daniels of Boston, A. W. Phelps of New Haven, Hon. L. W. Pond of Worcester, A. H. Waite of Maine, S. S. Foster of Worcester, Ira Steward of Cambridge, Geo. E. Mc Neil of Boston, and A. W. Robinson of N. H. Treasurer—H. H. Bigelow of Worcester. Auditor—J. B. Bates of Boston. Corresponding Secretary—I. G. Blanchard of South Boston. Recording Secretary—Herbert Daniels of Boston.

Elizabeth La Pierre Daniels.

THE WOMEN OF THE BIBLE—DEBORAH AND JAEL.

BY ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

It is remarkable that while all the women of the Bible were what we should call to-day strong-minded, so many persons still insist that both the letter and spirit of that Book are opposed to the political, religious, and social equality of woman.

In answer to every objection we hear to-day against our demands, there stands some representative woman in the Bible: as if in the long ast, prophets and seers foresaw the stumbling blocks that would be laid in the way of the higher civilization into which we are now entering, and decided by the statements of grand facts to put cavilers forever to silence.

When men say the bullet and the ballot go together, as if women never had and never would go to war, we turn to the Bible (Judges 4th chap.) and lo! there stands Deborah, strong, heroic, self-reliant, tender, wise and just, a woman of rare common sense, and great executive ability, who judged God's chosen people with justice and equity for the long term of forty years. She not only so far stepped out of "woman's sphere" as to judge a nation, but she became a great warrior, as well as a ruler, and led the armies of the Lord to victory.

Deborah, sitting quietly under *her* palm tree, had, no doubt, thought deeply of the wrongs of her people, the incapacity of their leaders, and the cruelty of their oppressors; hence when a delegation waited on her she was fully prepared to advise them what to do. She shows by her prompt orders that she understood the geography of the country, the extent and situation of the armies, and the resources of the nation.

Though well informed in all matters of national interest, Deborah did not thrust herself on public attention, seeking places of honor and trust (as men are apt to do), but she waited to be sought for by the people. When called to her public work, though the wife of Lapidoth, there is no mention of the fact that she took her husband into her councils, "asking questions of him at home," nor that any of the wise men of her day thought she was out of her "sphere" mounted on a white mule at the head of an army.

The timidity of Barak, the captain of the host, in refusing to go forth to battle unless Deborah went with him, is in strong contrast with the courage of the noble woman by his side. Deborah's wonderful knowledge of human nature is skillfully shown in her reply to Barak. After he became somewhat reassured with her enthusiastic conversation and sound views of practical matters, she saw that, with a quickened circulation, he began to plume himself as the hero of the promised victory, so she said to him, "I will surely go with thee: notwithstanding the journey that thou takest shall not be for *thine honor*, for the Lord shall sell Sisera into the hand of a woman." The glory of this great battle by the river Kishon seems to have been shared by Deborah and Jael, while the faint-hearted Barak was quite overshadowed by the brilliancy of their achievements.

While all must admire the dignity and frankness of Deborah, Jael's deceitful manner of killing Sisera has always seemed questionable. If she had shot him, or run a sword through him, it would not have been so bad, but to offer a man flying from his enemies shelter, to give him milk to drink, and a place to rest, and then, when asleep, treacherously to drive a nail through his ear, while it serves to prove woman's capacity for all the intrigues and barbarisms of war, it raises a renewed determination in every true woman to labor for that good day when the mother soul breathed into our legislation, shall end all war.

In view of the great blessing the death of Sisera was to the people, the treachery of Jael must have been wholly overlooked, for we notice that in the song of triumph after the battle it is said, "Blessed above women shall Jael the wife of Heber the Kenite be." How Lapidoth and Heber employed themselves in these eventful days, we have no account.—*Chicago Advance.*

The Revolution.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, PARKER PILLSBURY, } Editors.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY, Proprietor.

NEW YORK, MAY 20, 1869.

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THE ANNIVERSARY.

It was held last week as announced. It was everyway worthy to be distinguished as the advance movement of the age. And it was worthy any of its predecessors when anti-slavery led the van. Anti-Slavery, inaugurated out of the old Bible, Missionary and Tract Societies, combined with the outside humanity of the world into a living, moving, acting instrumentality for the rescue of the nation and the world from the crime, cruelty and curse of slavery. Those older associations had attempted to wrestle with the monster, but in vain. The breath of the slave power had smote them with its sirocco blasts. The Bible had to be interpreted into the service of slavery, and even then was forbidden by statute law, to be given to the slaves, though old testament and new, and apocrypha to boot, were all declared to uphold the system, by precept, as well as the most illustrious example. The Tract Society, carefully, piously expurgated from its pages whatever sentiment could be tortured into a rebuke of slavery. The Foreign Missionary Society did not hesitate to employ a slave-owner as a missionary, nor forbid its missionaries to hire slaves of their owners; the price of slaves sold in the shambles was willingly and thankfully accepted of slave-breeders and slave-traders, to replenish its treasury (which the crucifiers of Christ would not have done, "*because it was the price of blood!*"), and it taught the heathen a civilization and christianity which set them also to breeding, buying, selling and holding slaves! No Indian had ever been known to do so before. Thus, through these associations, supported and directed by the American church and clergy, the slave power became an omnipotence; was able to defy the nation, and indeed the world. Fifty years before, the Methodist church was taught, by John Wesley himself, that "slaveholding was the sum of all villanies," and of consequence that Methodist slaveholders were the sum of all villains.

The Presbyterian church declared, "the law was made for man-stealers, and man-stealers were defined thus: *Stealers of men are all those who bring off slaves or freemen.* And to illuminate and enforce the testimony, this was added from the eminent law expositor, Grotius:

To steal a freeman is the highest kind of theft. In other instances, we only steal human property. But when we steal men, *or retain men in slavery,* we steal those who, in common with ourselves, are constituted by the original grant, lords of the earth!

Congregationalism was at that day even more emphatic. Rev. Dr. Hopkins pronounced slaveholding "wrong in every instance, unrighteous and oppressive," adding, "*there is nothing like it on the whole face of the earth!*" Rev. Dr. Edwards declared, "to hold any man in slavery, is to be every day guilty of robbing him of his liberty, *or of man stealing.*" So then said they almost all.

The testimony of other denominations was equally emphatic against that "sum of all villanies," and on such a basis were the American churches originally reared.

At that period, there were but half a million slaves in the whole country; though the slave system then extended from Massachusetts Bay to the mouths of the Mississippi and the commerce of New England included, the African Slave Trade with all its screaming horrors. Even the Declaration of Independence, a few years earlier than these testimonies of the church in its original draft, enumerated the infliction of slavery and the slave trade upon the Colonies among the grievances which justified the revolution, but that most just and righteous reason of all was stricken out by the diabolical vigilance of the spirit of slavery. Thus early was the fatal virus infused into the new nation, which in less than one hundred years became a ghastly cancer, terminating an epoch in our boasted republic.

In half a century the victims of the abominable system were multiplied to more than two million. And every atrocity incident to it was proportionably augmented, such was its depraving influence on the minds and hearts of the tyrants. And all the national sentiment and power, army, navy, congress, courts, commerce, manufactures, literature, church, pulpit and press were subsidized into its service and defence.

Just then and there, the Anti-Slavery enterprise, under the conduct of Mr. Garrison, was inaugurated. Its first appeal was to the religious sentiment of the nation, viewing slavery, as the church had long before taught, to be a sin against God and a crime against justice and humanity, to be *immediately* repented of, and forsaken. The churches boasted at that time about three million baptized communicants and an ordained ministry of forty thousand. But it soon appeared that the organized religion deserved no such high compliment as was thus paid it by the abolitionists. Hon. James G. Birney, a Presbyterian elder and a repentant slaveholder of Kentucky, wrote a testimony against it, entitled, "The American Church, the Bulwark of American slavery," which had a wide circulation, and opened the eyes of many, both in church and out. Many other similar tracts, and books also, were written on the same subject. One was entitled "The Brotherhood of Thieves, or a True Picture of the American Church and Clergy." It ran through many editions, East and West, and was sold and scattered by thousands, and led to a great coming out of the church everywhere, as out of Babaylon, in the visions of Patmos. But the rebellion loosed the lost seal of the character of the churches and pulpits, North and South. For then the same baptized brethren who had so long sat together at the communion tables, North and South, mingling prayer and song over bread and wine, bought with the unpaid toil of slaves, spurning and scorning the warnings of the abolitionists, then on a hundred battle-fields, did the avenging God give them, those same brethren, awful sacraments in each other's blood!

From that time, American religion stood revealed to all who had eyes to see and reason to perceive and comprehend. Since the war, the Church Anniversaries have greatly declined, until some of them have been abandoned altogether. And the quality of most that have been held this year, has been such as to make it certain that the end of all, or nearly all of them, is at hand. Why should they not cease?

The mission of the Anti-Slavery Society is likewise accomplished, and year by year the interest in its anniversaries has declined, until only the reputation of a single public speaker (who is ever sure of audience, and anywhere) draws the people together for a single day instead of three, as in its palmier years. And the meetings of it are without meaning and spirit, as they are without necessity. Truly did the N. Y. *Times* say:

Woman's Rights carried off the lion's share of honors and profits; if there be a special lesson of significance in the past week's record, it is that the Woman question is the leading reform problem of the hour. The Woman's Rights meeting emptied the rival houses, drew from the rival treasuries, out-talked the rival orators, and outshone the rival reforms. The Chairman of the Anti-Slavery Society remarked of his own beggarly array of empty boxes, that "the friends were at the Woman's meeting;" and the Peace Society, whose fullest gathering was only twenty-seven strong, including reporters, was quite belligerent toward its successful rival.

For three days and evenings, its meetings were thronged, the interest increasing to the very last hour. Twenty years ago, indeed to the opening of the rebellion, the Anti-Slavery Anniversaries drew similar throngs to its three days convocations, as well in Boston as in New York. Reporters, editors and printers of newspapers were busy day and night with their proceedings, as now with the doings of the new and legitimate successor. The mob, too, would not unfrequently nearly or quite seize the platform and interrupt, if not absolutely break up, the meetings. Lunatics and monomaniacs, dreamers and fanatics of every description, availed themselves of the permitted freedom of speech to unroll their many budgets of griefs and wrongs. Such politicians as Daniel Webster denounced the meetings and the cause as "treason deservingthe halter." The pulpit declared it infidelity and blasphemy, and doomed it to hell. But Fort Sumter and Bull Run showed, like the trial of fire from heaven by the Hebrew prophet, who were the priests of Baal and who the worshippers of the living God. The same riot and confusion, the same ridicule and mockery, the same scorning and scoffing, the same haughty contempt of the fancied rich and great, the same determined unbelief of almost all classes, which attended the labors of prophets and apostles of reformers in every age, was visited also on the abolitionists till their work, too, was accomplished. Now the name of Garrison is above every American name, and none are too exalted to do him honor and reverence.

To-day, the Equal Rights Association stands where then stood the anti-slavery host. The church dreamed at that time that she was able

to meet the monster slavery and overcome him without harm or loss to herself, not knowing that she herself had long been bound in his deadly toils. She held her anniversaries, even formed Anti-Slavery societies, in opposition to the Garrisonian Invincibles, but all to no purpose. *Ichabod* was already written over her portals; and her power as well as her glory had departed. Some of the old abolitionists seem as blind to the real issues of the present hour, as was the church in that. While the colored man is holding office all over the country, both by popular election and by appointments from Governors of States, or by the President of the United States, they still continue to clamor for the colored *man's* right of suffrage which he has, but seem deaf as adders to the negro woman's wrongs who has it not, and whose oppressions are ten fold more cruel than the black man ever knew. To this circumstance is to be attributed much, if not most, of the riotous scenes which characterized the meetings in Steinway Hall. One party could and would know nothing but the colored *male* and the Fifteenth Constitutional Amendment. The other struck for the Sixteenth Amendment proposed in Congress by Mr. Julian of Indiana, which, with the Fourteenth, already secured, would make Suffrage as universal as the most extreme radical has ever desired.

It is remarkable that, as the worst opposition to the abolitionists twenty and thirty years ago came from the churches and clergy, so now the most persistent obstruction to the demands of the Equal Rights Association which asks the ballot for all men, *and all women*, are some of the former abolitionists led by tricky, crafty Congressmen, whom none have better understood, or more faithfully exposed in past years, than these same abolitionists.

But against all opposition from false friend or open foe, the meeting of the Association has aroused the nation from ocean to ocean and created a spirit of inquiry and of right determination, too, which will never be silenced. The east and the west, the north and the south have met and taken counsel together, and they know the justice and righteousness of their cause are full and sufficient assurance of a glorious victory. P. P.

THE FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT.

This Amendment cannot with justice be passed until the women of the country give their consent to this new step in their political degradation. By the war and the revision of the Federal constitution, this nation is practically resolved into its original elements, and all the people have a right to vote on the fundamental laws that are to govern them. This principle of common justice has been recognized in the several states, from time to time, and it is now clearly woman's right and duty to vote on the Fifteenth Amendment.

If the women of this nation were fully awake to the practical results of this proposed Amendment, they would demand their right to be heard. Some from apathy, some from ignorance, some from sympathy with the black man, and mistaken moral convictions of the primal necessity of "manhood suffrage," at this hour, are all permitting, without a protest, the establishment on this continent of the most odious form of aristocracy the world has ever seen; namely, an aristocracy of sex. Under the combined influence of republicans and abolitionists, the women of this nation, who, of all others, should be alive to the political issues of the hour, have been for the last three years actually voting, in their own conventions, black men first, women afterward. With men in our associations, in our committees, to-day managing our conventions, the woman's thought is practically overslaughed, and no resolution that is in conflict with republicans and abolitionists, can be presented on our platforms. As by the Sixteenth Amendment, Woman's Suffrage is before the nation, that should take precedence of all others in our conventions, and should be the warp and woof of our speeches and resolutions. Yet we are required by black men, alike in Washington, Boston, and New York, on Woman Suffrage platforms, not only not to oppose the Fifteenth Amendment, but to pass resolutions rejoicing in its adoption, which is practically rejoicing that every shade and type of manhood, however ignorant and degraded, whether native or foreign, shall henceforth make laws for us and our daughters to the third and fourth generation, compelling us, too, to stultify ourselves as abolitionists, and rejoice in the fact that 2,000,000 of black women at the south are simply to change their form of slavery from white to black masters, under the same code of laws we have been repudiating for ourselves for the last twenty years.

Black men and abolitionists, under similar circumstances, manifested a wiser selfishness, and advocated a sounder philosophy.

When Rhode Island, in 1841-'42, adopted her first constitution, and proposed to extend Suffrage to all native-born white male citizens, Frederick Douglass, Stephen Foster, Abby Kelley and Parker Pillsbury stumped the state against that proposition, not because they were hostile to extending Suffrage to poor white men, but they saw the added degradation to the black man in establishing an aristocracy of color. They displayed, at that time, none of the *magnanimity* for poor white men they demand of women to-day for the negro. There were no rejoicings in their hearts in securing Suffrage for a new class, "knowing that every extension of liberty hastened the hour of the black man's redemption," but by their opposition they practically said, if the black man cannot be enfranchised, neither shall poor white men be, and inch by inch they fought that proposition.

There never was so stormy and violent a campaign. The abolitionists were mobbed, their meetings broken up night after night, the hotels refused to entertain them, the stages to convey them from town to town, as they shouted through the state, better keep to the charter of King Charles than adopt a constitution establishing an aristocracy of color in Rhode Island.

E. C. S.

PETITIONS.

We hope to roll up the largest petition the world has ever seen, before the opening of the next Congress, to prove to American statesmen that the women are ready for the Sixteenth Amendment.

This petition, decorated with flowers and the American flag, will be carried into the National Capitol by a troupe of girls dressed in the National colors, one from each State, District and Territory, of twenty-one years of age. The one chosen for this high honor should be large and well developed, as the petition will be a very heavy one. Whatever the rules are about the Hall of Representatives they must be set aside for that occasion, as the women propose to present their own petitions and make their own appeals to their rulers, E. C. S.

THE WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE CONVENTION.

The meetings just held in New York and Brooklyn have been in every way a complete success. The crowded houses, the respectful hearing by the men, the deep and wide-spread interest among the women themselves, and the new baptism of those who have long devoted their lives to this work, both from the old world and the new, all conspired to make this an occasion of more thrilling interest than any that has yet marked the history of our cause.

True, the harmony was slightly marred by the idiosyncracies of a few persons and isms foreign to the legitimate objects of the convention, but these, like dark spots on the sun, served but to add new brightness to all beyond.

The very things most deplored by the superficial observer were the strongest testimonials to the grandeur of our republican institutions, A people that have never known despotism, who fear not its dangers, are apt to be too hasty in putting checks on liberty of speech. While the women of this republic would have indignantly driven all intruders from their platform, the exiles of freedom from France and Germany calmly rejoiced that here was a country where all could be heard. When a pale, sad woman, mad with oppression, rose up in the midst of that magnificent audience in the Academy of Music, claiming her right to speak, was seized by the Police to be dragged from the platform, the impatience of the audience with her injuries was hushed at once in pity for the woman in the strong arm of the law, and the cry of "Put her out," from many a manly voice was drowned in the nobler one "Let her be heard." Then we learned how deep in every man's soul is the feeling of loyalty for sorrowing womanhood, and how sacredly the idea of individual rights and free speech are held in the hearts of the American people.

That triumph of the spirit of true chivalry and free institutions was the most magnificent passage in our three days convention. It was tragic too. As soon as the officer in uniform laid his hand on the woman, she raised herself up to her full proportions, tall and stately, and, with keen satire, said, "I deny your authority, I had no voice in the law that made you my ruler." Her ready wit was greeted with loud applause, and she turned contemptuously from the officer to the audience, who gave her a patient hearing. E. C. S.

NATIONAL WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

In response to the earnest wishes of the delegates of the Great West, a National Woman's Suffrage Association was organized at the "Woman's Bureau" on Saturday evening, where large numbers of the friends of the movement were assembled. A general dissatisfaction had been expressed by most of the women attending the Convention with the name and latitude of debate involved in an "Equal Rights Association," and it was proposed to change the name to "Woman's Suffrage," but that could not be done until the next annual meeting. It was, therefore, decided to organize a National Woman's Suffrage Association, and make the Sixteenth Amendment the sole object of its future work and consideration. A constitution was presented which, with the list of officers, will be published in our columns when the organization is fully completed. The work it

proposes is a thorough canvass of the several states with conventions, tracts, petitions, that at the opening of Congress, we may send in the largest petition that has ever yet been presented at the national capitol.

THE FOURTH OF JULY.

We would suggest that the Fourth of July this year should be fairly taken possession of by the women of the nation; as by the Sixteenth Amendment of the constitution, proposed by the Hon. George W. Julian, for the first time in the history of the government, the whole people are recognized as sovereigns of the republic.

As our noble sires and sons have celebrated this day for a century, we hope they will generously retire with their cannon and fire-crackers, their bombast and buncombe, their wine and whiskey, that their mothers and daughters may make it a quiet holiday, and celebrate in a fitting manner, with speeches and songs of freedom, the birth day of our national Independence.

We recommend the women throughout the country, in every town and county, to organize themselves at once into Suffrage Associations, invite their speakers for the Fourth, and at these gatherings roll up their petitions to the next Congress, that thus we may light anew the torch liberty, and reconstruct our government in justice and equality. E. C. S.

THE PRESS.

Some of our western delegates were disappointed at the tone of the press of this city on the Woman's Suffrage Convention, especially that of the *Tribune*, as it has been so favorable in years long gone by. This change is strictly philosophical. While woman's enfranchisement was debated as an intellectual theory, the press could afford to be argumentative and dispassionate; but now, when we are approaching the crisis of its realization, when the nation is upheaved with forebodings of its practical results, the press will of necessity oscillate with the faith and fears of the people as they begin to comprehend the mighty revolution in the state, the church, and the home, involved in this idea. It will not be at all surprising if the entire press thoughout the country should be more hostile than ever, and increasingly so, until the consummation of our republican theory—equal rights to all.

The *Tribune* is sure to be so. As in the war it cried, "On to Richmond!" until the defeat at Bull Run, and then, mid thunder and lightning, darkness and storm, repented its bravery in dust and ashes. So its own grand declaration of universal suffrage and universal amnesty, now soon to be tried, like Banquo's ghost, rises on every side, to freeze and frighten this timid journal. It needs cool heads and strong hands to man the ship of state when the nation is in the throes of revolution, and a firm faith in eternal principle to do right though the heavens fall.

For the rest of the press, hope remains. The *Sun*, in its daily evolutions, shines benignly on the Woman question, and heralds its progress, with a cheerfulness that shows that it clearly comprehends and is ready to accept the situation. The *World*, for the last four years, has faithfully reported the deeds and words of its countrywomen, whether in National Conventions, Working Women's Associations, or the soirees of the Sorosis. The *Times*, calm and conservative, with its "Veteran Observer," slumbering among "The Beeches," looks dreamily to the past for the solution of the problems of to-day; but from an occasional stir in the minor column there is hope of its waking to a new life. The *Herald* has it in its heart to be kind, but it is afflicted with such a keen sense of the ridiculous, that it is apt to forget the proprieties of life, and make those principles a target for its wit, which it should teach the nation to honor and revere. But take our metropolitan editors and reporters all in all, we think them quite equal to those found in the cities of the west, without even excepting Chicago. E. C. S.

The Boston Investigator.—This sturdy old Ishmael in the conflict of Faiths numbers now forty years, save two. It came up out of much tribulation, all religions and multitudes of men of no religion conspiring against it at its birth. Had it not possessed more of that vitality which only truth and an honest purpose can give, it would long since have been forgotten. Abner Kneeland, its founder, was well known in Boston for many years, and for integrity, humanity and honesty, stood as well in the popular estimation as the clergy or any other class of citizens. When Mr. Garrison first proposed to lecture in Boston against American slavery, not a church nor public hall could be obtained for the purpose. So he advertised for a hall or church, and gave notice, at the same time, that unless one could be procured, he should give his lecture on the Common in the open air. At that time Mr. Kneeland and his friends were accustomed to meet on Sundays in a small but comfortable place, known, I think, as Julien Hall. To this they cheerfully invited Mr. Garrison, and there was his first Boston lecture given. But he was denounced immediately as an infidel, or worse, by the prevailing Phariseeism of that time, the reproach of which it was not easy to counteract. But Boston thinks rather better of both him and the *Investigator* to-day. Both have proved that their devotion to the cause of truth, temperance, justice and freedom needed no narrow, sectarian basis on which to rest, or to give it vitality and inspiration.

The *Investigator* commenced its thirty-ninth volume considerably enlarged and, in other respects, materially improved. In its demand for civil, political and religious freedom, it knows no distinction of color or sex. Its terms are—Two copies to one address, one year $6.00; one copy, one year, $3.50; one copy, six months, $1.75; one copy, three months, $1.00; single copies, 7 cts. All letters should be directed to Josiah P. Mendum, 84 Washington street, Boston, Mass.

A Costly Salvation.—Grace Church, New York, has probably the largest revenue of any church in the country. Its pew rent the past year, so the papers say, amounted to one hundred thousand dollars. Salvation used to be proffered "without money and without price." But times are changed. Everything is dear now.

Religion of Humanity.—Mr. Henry Edger, American Member of the Positive Council, Paris, will lecture at Plimpton Hall, corner of Stuyvesant and Ninth streets, near Third Avenue, on Sunday morning, May 30, at eleven o'clock. Subject: "*Woman's Share in the Social Reconstruction.*"

BOSTON WORKING WOMEN.

The Working Women of Boston and vicinity at their recent Convention adopted the following resolution:

Resolved, That we hereby form ourselves into an association, to be known as the Boston Working Women's League, and that the chairman of this meeting appoint a provisional President, Secretary, and Board of Directors of this League, with power to perfect the organization, and authority to call a meeting at which they may report for approval of their proceedings.

The chairman named Aurora H. C. Phelps provisional President; Mrs. E. L. Daniels, to be provisional Secretary; and Miss Phelps, Mrs. Daniels and Miss Jennie Collins, to be provisional Directors of the Boston Working Women's League, with power, etc. The provisional officers of the Boston Working-women's League, acting under the instructions contained in the foregoing resolution, have held their first meeting and gone to work in good earnest. Mrs. Dr. Bachelder, who represented the League at the Anniversary in this city last week, was good assurance in herself, as well as in her representative character, that the women down there mean business and that they mean nothing else.

"Amused and Disgusted."—The Topeka (Kan.) *Commonwealth* is. It is a new paper just out, and its first Leader says it is. The reason is that the Editor of The Revolution corrected the N. Y. *Tribune's* report of "Mother Bickerdike's" short but pithy and spicy address in a recent meeting of the Working Women's Association. The *Tribune* said she called Indians "*Scalawags.*" but she didn't. It was Indian agents, and commissioners, and she called them right enough too, most of them, and was heartily cheered for it. P. P.

The New England Labor Reform League convenes in the Masonian, Boston, Tuesday and Wednesday, May 25th and 26th. A. Bronson Alcott, Wm. H. Silvis, Rev. W. F. Mollaneu, Hon. Henry Wilson, Hon. Edward Avery, Rev. Jm. Manning, Senator Sprague, Jennie Collins, John Orvis, E. H. Heywood, Thos. J. Durant, Mrs. E. L. Daniels, Dr. Dio. Lewis, Bessie Bisbee, S. S. Foster, Julia Ward Howe, Lysander Spooner, E. D. Linton, and other speakers, are expected.

Woman as Inventor.—Mrs. Dr. Eliza J. Hall, of San Francisco, has invented and patented a Volcanic Furnace for smelting ores, for which she has been awarded a premium, and for which she has received complimentary testimonials from various sources entitled to the highest respect, one of which closes thus:

Having been a witness of your procedure from its beginning to its end, and seen the results of your labor, am confident that your most clever device will revolutionize the old system of smelting ores, altogether.

Very respectfully, Charles Harasztny.
Eliza Jane Hall, M.D.

Woman's Bureau.—Tuesday evening, May 11th, the opening reception at the Woman's Bureau took place. As we shall give next week what the press says of it, we simply say now that it was in every way a delightful occasion and a grand success. From eight to eleven o'clock the wit, beauty, and fashion of New York, paid their respects to Mrs. Phelps, and the Editors of The Revolution, while Suffrage and Sorosis were the themes on every lip.

SUSIE AND POLITICAL REFORM.

About the usual hour uncle Zeph came in as he promised, and hardly was the morning news discussed, and disposed of, when father returned to the subject of politics, by saying,—"But, Zeph, when you were going away last evening, you said you wanted to see our constitution and laws so changed, as to make it the first and most immediate INTEREST of all our minor ministrative officers to be faithful to law and courteous to the people. Is not that precisely what we *have* done? Do not our constitutions now enable the people to elect their own officers? No one can *compel* us to vote bad men into power. Do not our constitutions, as if fearful we *might* sometimes elect a bad man, ordain the term of office to be but brief? Who can compel us to re-elect *any* officer who once proves himself unworthy of our trust? What officer is there, who does not give bonds for the faithful performance of duty? and if any one is injured by his failure to fulfil that *oath* of office (by use of which, we seek to draw even on his fears of the invisible and spiritual world), what is to prevent recovery of damages by suit on his official bond? By republicanism in our *present* form, we do aim at making it the interest of our officers to be faithful as such, and yet you see, so deep-rooted and powerful is the depravity of human nature, that from almost every pore of the body politic corruption oozes."

"Do stop that total depravity cant. Do you want to sour me the moment I set my foot inside of your door, or do you only want to *compel* me to feel you are a poor pitiable, theologic toper. You've over-drunk the swill of a depraved theology. Your helpmates, in keeping it warm for the stupefaction of the people, are none other than the politicians. They chuckle as they repeat your bosh. You are sincere, but they know better. It may sound very pious to the church-going ear, but is that the reason *politicians* endorse your teachings? It may look well on paper, but is that the reason paid papers of political demagogues applaud your nonsense and forbid protest in their columns? The time was in America, when 'depravity' did *not* ooze out at every governmental pore—but in those days the maxim 'to the victor belong the spoils' pertained only to the bygone age of barbaric warfare. It was not the central thought of a great political party in a free land, which disguised its half human deformity beneath the mantle of democracy, and compelled a once noble opponent also to grow tail and talons in self-defence, and don for *its* disguise the mantle of republicanism. The time was, when state governors appointed many an officer, and economy with decency characterized the land—but in those days the political nominating convention was unknown. The time may have been once, when, as voters, the people need not re-elect any officer to post who had failed to honor the land and people, but since both of the great political parties have adopted the convention system of politics, by means of which there is an authoritative determination and announcement of our political creeds, at the polls we must either practically deny our political faith, or else vote for the nominees of the convention, which has most nearly given them voice. It is the political convention which has destroyed the self-government of republicanism in America, and which prevents you and me from voting against any political nominee of our party, no matter how infamously he may have secured his nomination, and no matter how weakly, illegally, or vilely he may have conducted himself, either personally or officially, when in the public pay before. We must vote for political nominees."

"No, we need not. It were much better to defeat our party than to elect a villain to office. It is precisely here where the total depravity comes in and corrupts the government. It is this undue devotion to party which is depravity itself."

"How can we help it?"

"Vote against our party, and for the opposite nominee."

"But when he has received *his* nomination by the very same means? I vote against republican Smith, only to find I helped elect democrat Brown, who proves, if possible, a more currupt scoundrel than Smith himself."

"Then vote for neither."

"But that don't prevent either Smith or Brown getting the post and wielding the people's power. As I don't *help* matters by anything I can do, plainly it is better to vote for the principles I believe in by electing the scoundrel I despise, than to deny my faith and elect a villain to boot."

"Why, then, don't you control the primaries themselves, and so secure to the convention pure and good delegates, who will do nothing vile?"

"Because, there is always a *secret* primary which meets and manages before the *nominal* primary. The *party* primary only does the work of the wire-working aspirants, just as the people do the work of the convention; nor can it be helped. Besides, watching for primary and political movements, with a view of controlling them effectually, would entail such inconvenience and loss of time, toil and interest on the bulk of the people, as seriously to interfere with ordinary business, and if energetically followed up, would result in mob violence and civil war. But if such were *not* the consequence, and if upright, well-intentioned men *were* secured to all conventions, the temptations through bribery (if not by coin, by the promise of more valuable offices for themselves or friends), or by flattery, or their entrapment by schemers through their inexperience in parliamentary tactics and minutiae, and by means of packed committees would result in much the same thing in the hands of skillful tacticians as now. Politics is as much a business as stock-broking."

"Why, then, don't you go against political conventions, rather than go in for revolutionizing the government itself?"

"Because I believe the political convention one of the fairest and grandest developments of the age, more important to develop into usefulness and to direct by reorganizing our government, than almost any other institution which has been the product of the spirit of this age."

"What, then, do you aim at? In one breath you denounce the convention, and in the next you praise it. What is it you want?"

"I want to see the people do for republican self-government what a mere boy once did to a steam-engine with a simple piece of wire, the consequence of which has been *the transformation of civilization*, and the inauguration of this great era, which can be called only the age of steam."

"What was that boy's trick?"

"He was hired to turn on steam to the cylinder of a steam-engine by a hand faucet. He made the wire do it for him, by rigging it to the shaft of the engine itself. He thereby constituted steam the self-acting giant motor for man through all the world and time."

"What, then, do you propose for government?"

"Making official execellence self-acting, as the motive power of the peoples government."

"How?"

"By placing it out of the power of the political convention to nominate any executive or judicial officer, except the Chief."

"Who, then, could they nominate?"

"Legislators only, and the chief executive."

"But how is such a change ever to be brought about?"

"Ah! There's the rub. How to induce the people to *ordain* the changes, in the teeth of opposition from their political oppressors and a pulse-feeling or subsidized press I don't know. The masses only can do it, by demanding it imperatively. Yet the masses don't reason. The masses are sheep, and in times of tranquility jump as do their bell-weathers. It takes peril and turmoil to touch the public conscience and convert sheep into men with imperious wills. But touch the public conscience and inflame the people's fears, and they rise up in the majesty of moral giants, to dictate to their so-called leaders, who then transform to fawning spaniels. The problem, therefore, is, how to reach the American conscience? God only knows."

"Can you not reach the convictions of men by means of the press?"

"It is only here and there you can find a journal that dare publish truth while it is yet forming to shape in the skies. While truth is only half plain, it is not popular. The journals fear. They *dread* being 'ahead of the times.' Let the people once demand it, and the press will reverberate with, and echo it, till its cloud of ceaseless and soulless advocacy of it becomes sickening."

"But have you thoroughly thought out a plan?"

"Yes, and so *much* of one, I dare not broach at all. One chapter at a time is all I venture on."

"*Convince* me and *I'll* help you."

"O, no, my dear brother, you are totally depraved."

"Yes, I know that, but I'm not *so* totally that I won't lend a hand to all that promises well for man."

"What—Zeb—what! If you don't look out, you'll convert me to *your* faith. The fact is, it is much easier to show what changes in our constitution and laws, *provided only they were ordained*, would cure the evils of politics, than it is to *get* them ordained. But if that ever shall be accomplished at all, it can only be by familiarizing the popular mind to a scheme which *would* lift their burdens. This they will at first deride, next oppose, next denounce, next seriously consider and reject. But when some monster imposition is launched upon them, or a tyrant seizes the nation by the throat, they will leap, armed heroes, to the rescue, and ordain in the name of God and liberty the dreams they rejected and laughed to scorn."

"What, then, *is* your remedy for the politica evils of the land?"

"To vote only legislators *into* office, and that periodically at our regular elections, and couple this with voting *all* officers *out* of office, *not* periodically, but summarily on their perpetration of anything offensive to the people generally."

"How could these things be compassed?"

"For the election of a Governor, the whole

state would constitute but a single election district. Though Chief-Executive of the state, he is likewise endowed with the veto power. This fact constitutes him a most important legislative officer, and therefore the Governor should be elected by the people."

"But how would that help matters?"

"If he were the only *state* officer to be elected, reflect for a moment on its effect in the political conventions of the two great parties. Neither convention could have any 'trading' by a dozen aspirants for prominent positions on the state ticket. All competitors before the convention would be rivals for the only post the convention could give a nomination for. *The destruction of this power of aspirants to trade in convention* would resore government to the people and dethrone politicians as a class."

"Would that be the only gain?"

"No. The law should declare that no one should be eligible to any office, whose name was not published as a candidate for the post at least three months in advance of the election by the people. The preferences of the people of both parties would then find representation in the convention, and the wishes of the people to learn all they could of the candidates would be met by the newspapers. Both parties would then be compelled to nominate their best men, and either nominee would be so good, personally, that the contest would turn on the *principles* of the convention which nominated him. A superior order of delegates, alike for ability and worth, would then constitute the convenvention, and once more politics in America would become a contest, before the people as judges, of differing policies for enactment into law. Politics, as the science of personal warfare and trickery, would be forgotten, and only be reverted to in history as an alarming curse which could not be cured till it culminated in immersing the land in a civil war, which scattered the corpses of three hundred thousand heroes, and buried them in her weeping valleys, and clad in the dark garb of the mourner, millions of mothers, widows and orphans!"

"But do you imagine that the people will ever consent to be shorn of the power of voting for all their state officers, and being shut up to voting for the Governor alone?"

"I do not believe they ever will, till they are fully convinced that the measure is necessary to secure a pure, economical, and efficient government."

"Do you believe they would then?"

"Not till the public school has become a greater power, and been nationalized; and not till woman shall become a voter; and not till full consideration shall convince every reflective voter that the people will gain three fold more power by voting officers out of place for misconduct, than by allowing our present universal elective system to continue, by which politicians, in convention assembled, dictate to respectable men what villain they shall periodically vote into place and power."

"You would, then, institute impeachment by the people?"

"Precisely so. Nor would I exempt from summary removal any officer in the land. If ours is a self-government, neither officers nor office-makers may be the rulers. The people must govern. To do so, the people must be feared. To the politician, the people now are laughing stock, as we deserve to be."

"But your scheme is revolutionary."

"That is its merit. The political convention was a revolution also. It came insidiously. It bound us in our sleep; and now is robbing us. We need a counter revolution. Ours is of the people. It is open and avowed. Let revolution come. Revolution is the world's only hope."

"But you have spoken only of the Governor. Is he the only officer you would have elected?"

"No. Senators and Representatives, besides. If twenty Senators were ordained, the state should be divided into twenty Senatorial districts. Each Senatorial district should vote directly for that one officer, and no other. The effect of this on the Senatorial district conventions of the parties would be similar to the effect on the state conventions, of having only one state officer to elect. In like manner, the state should be divided into distinct Representative districts. The only officer periodically voted *into* office in each district would be the state Legislative Representatives, Senators, and Governor, besides the National Congressmen, Senators and the President."

"But you speak of voting all officers *out* of office. Suppose any one *should* be voted out, how would the vacancy be filled?"

"Not by election, for that would revive a multiplicity of political nominations. Not by direct appointment of the Chief Executive, for that would confer on him the same dangerous power our Presidents (or Senators) now possess. Instead of either, a system of promotion, similar to that broached in 'Jencke's Civil Service' bill, should be adopted. Even the lowest vacancies occasioned by such promotions should be filled only from the ranks of those who had passed preliminary examinations."

"But why would you select legislators as the only officers to be voted *into* office and require all others to be only voted out?"

"Because the very nature of self-government dictates it. Self-government depends upon two simple things. 1. On the prompt enactment of the people's will into law and on 2. its efficient and impartial enforcement. As the views and wishes of the people continually change, men must be elected fresh from the people, and upon *account* of their political opinions. Their election and their removal (unless by special impeachment) should be neither a reward nor a punishment. The election of one party candidate or the other, should simply be a *sign* of the *majority will*, and not of personal favor. We cannot too speedily get rid of the idea that *any* man may be rightly persecuted in America for opinion's sake. It is just as much a wrong to proscribe you for being a democrat as it would be to proscribe you for being a Presbyterian. A man's political creed should be as sacred as his religious faith, and it should be as deeply sincere. What would you think of me if I wanted you as a friend, in a religious convention, to 'go' against 'total depravity'—if I should offer, for instance, to 'go' for you as a moderator, or a bishop, provided you oppose total depravity in the creed? How much better is that than to get you to 'go' against the war—or against the payment of the public debt, offering you a nomination to some office with pay? Your creed should be sacred. IT IS DAMNABLE PROSCRIPTION TO REMOVE ANY MAN FROM OFFICE AS A PUNISHMENT FOR HIS POLITICAL VIEWS. This doctrine will yet be recognized throughout the world. The converse of it is equally true—no man should be *rewarded* for political opinions—all men should be left unbiassed and free."

"Why, then, reward men by retaining them in office for performing their duties simply?"

"They should *not* be retained as a reward. They are not entitled to any other reward for that, than a fair and moderate salary."

"Why, then, *would* you retain them?"

"To make it their *interest* to be faithful and efficient officers. As the indirect influence of the political convention now makes it their interest *not* to be faithful, and as human nature is selfish, I would bring the indirect influence of retention during good behavior, to *help* rather than *undermine* duty through self-interest."

"But isn't that violating principle?"

"No; it only practically recognizes more fully than we now do, that men will study their most immediate interests. By the change the people would gain, for not only should public servants be continued in office, but their salaries would go down to a reasonable figure."

"Would not that defeat the end you seek?"

"No. *Certainty* is fully equal to *quantity* of pay, if the amount is reasonable."

"What would be your plan for voting officers *out* of post?"

"Registration (the best system which it would be possible to devise) should be its basis. One great aim of it would be to enable voters to vote, by simply absenting themselves from the polls. Singular as this statement may seem, you can readily see that such would be the effect, if the law should ordain that a majority of registered voters should alone be able to remove an officer. As the total number of *voters* are known in advance of the election, one more than half that number of votes could alone remove the officer if impeached. Simple staying away would therefore count as a vote in favor of *retention*."

"But how could proceedings in such impeachment be had?"

"Any twelve citizens should have the right to appear personally before the clerk of a proper court, and file duplicate accusations against any officer, praying the Court to take initiatory action for a trial by the people, upon that, their impeachment. Their accusation should set forth a statement that for official misconduct (or discourtesy as the case might be) they believed John Smith ought speedily to be removed from the office of ——— for the reasons thereinafter set forth:"

"A copy of the accusation should be immediately furnished the accused, who should be required to file his answer (or his declination to answer) within ten days."

"Three days later, an epitome of the accusation, together with an epitome of the answer, should be prepared by the judge of the court, for publication in the principal newspapers of the place, and on receipt of fees for filing the accusation and answer, together with the costs of advertising the summary of the same, and together with a forfeit for the benefit of the accused officer if not removed, the clerk of the court should publish the summary, giving notice, that if, within ten days, one-fifth of all the legal voters should petition for the calling of a special election, the time and place for such election would be appointed on the further receipt of all the expenses connected therewith."

Upon receipt of such a petition, the time and place should be determined, and elective officers be authorized to act. The ballot should read, "For (or against) the removal of John Smith from the office of ———."

"Should John Smith have been guilty of wilful discourtesy or of any official impropriety, and should his explanation prove unsatisfactory, under such a system, there would be no

difficulty in securing his removal, but otherwise he would be safe. When it was understood that politics had nothing to do with the case, conduct and manners would become important. While mere personal pique, with newspaper counsel in the case, would not be able to do damage, yet official misconduct and neglect would not escape punishment, any more than superciliousness or any other official offensiveness."

"How long it will take to get these views before the people, or how long it will take to rouse them to become in fact, as well as name, the real rulers of America, time only can show. But if the Republic is not doomed to extinction beneath ruins brought on by the prevailing system of politics, some such radical revolution must be devised as the foregoing one which will lighten the governmental tax upon the private purse, increase the efficiency of guardians of the public peace and safety, and render it the first and most immediate interest of all our public servants to honor the people and respect their law."

Just at this point my pen broke and I could get no more; but Susie says that it will make a very good ending. But reader, I can't close this paper for print without urging on you one request, that you will *think* about what Uncle Zeph is so deeply interested in, and that you will do what you can to cure the corruption of politics, which threaten to cause government of the people, by the people and for the people to perish from the earth. If Uncle Zeph's ideas are wrong, if his remedies are not the right ones, take up your pen and *your* parable and prophesy truth to ten thousand anxious minds and hearts, and so help on the only hope of man's eternally progressive Revolution."

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN THE SOUTH.

The following passages are extracted from a private letter, written by an intelligent and keenly observing woman, long a resident of the southern states, if not native to the soil:

I think the Woman question is the greatest craft ever launched on the stormy sea of public opinion. That New York Revolution, up there, and its fearless advocacy of the doctrine, take one's breath away almost, in the contemplation! Somebody sends us an occasional copy. Our slaves used to have a hymn, which they sung in the jungles and pines, beginning:

"If you want to find Jesus, go in the wilderness."

But I have begun to sing, if you want to find Jesus, look in The Revolution. And sometimes I get jubilant, and sing with it:

"Satan's kingdom's tumbling down,
Glory, Hallelujah!"

I have long known that as in the Federal Constitution the negro is written down brute, baboon, monkey, so in the constitution of *Mandom*, woman is registered "*Worm of the Dust!*" Still, between my Creator and myself there has ever been held a tacit understanding that He had endowed me "with certain inalienable rights," not breathed into worms. Usually, I have kept this hidden in my soul, though there have been times when the rebellious spirit rose in insurrection, and to this day I wear the scars of harsh judgment.

You have, doubtless, much to contend with at the north, which we do not know; but here, among the orange and magnolia blossoms, are found woman's veritable, feudal strongholds. There are ladies here, yes, *ladies!* rare, lovely, fair, white, graceful creatures, cloistered in the boudoirs of the Spanish chivalry of Isabella's time. These were made especially and entirely for the recreation and diversion of Man, in his smoking and indulging hours. God made *these*, so they say. There is also another variety of woman here, *made to order, but man made these* to suit himself, or I should say to suit his necessities. Some are nut brown, or olive, but timid, gazelle-like creatures, whose dark, melting eyes fascinate and enrapture him; like hashesh, charm and intoxicate him! their dark curls twining about his white heart, draw him away from all things earthly. O, what a Paradise for the monarch Man! But hew away at the Upas tree of *Mandom*, up there in New York and the north, but do not come *here* with such ruthless, destroying hand! Nor let our people know that you have a Revolution, not only printing, but absolutely practicing up there, and conducted, too, mainly by women! Tell it not in Charleston! publish it not, I beseech you, in New Orleans!

A POLITICAL MILLENNIUM.

From the New York Sun.

THE UNDERCURRENT OF THE SATURDAY NIGHT'S MEETING—WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE—NEW ORGANIZATION ON A GRAND SCALE—LUNACY AND DISTRACTING ISSUES THROWN OVERBOARD—SANITY AND MILLIONAIRES TO THE FORE!

The experiences of the last year, and more especially of the past week, have satisfied the discreet managers of the Woman's Suffrage Enterprise of the necessity of getting rid of the obstreporous males and foolish females who, under the pretext that theirs is a "*free platform*," disturb their meetings with foreign topics, and retard the progress of their cause. Beside this the intimation to them from authorized sources, that so soon as they effect this reform, a number of distinguished and wealthy ladies of New York, New England, and other localities, will join them in the demand for Woman's Suffrage, has powerfully contributed to the result we now chronicle.

NEW ORGANIZATION.

At their Club House in Twenty-third street, on Saturday evening, the influential leaders in this enterpise organized a new society, to be called "The National Woman's Suffrage Association." It was not accomplished without a pretty sharp struggle and a display of that finesse for which the sex is distinguished. As it was, they had to concede, in order to carry their main points, membership to men; but the society is to be entirely officered and controlled by women, and the sole object is to be the obtaining of the Suffrage for their sex. Crazy female kite-flyers, male brawlers who ply the vocation of disturbing meetings, fifteenth amendment negroes, and Indians not taxed, are to be compelled to paddle their own canoes in more congenial waters.

JEWELLED FINGERS IN THE PIE.

The great success of the recent anniversary meetings in this city (despite the side-shows of Foster, and the fanatical *debris* that floated in his wake), and the headway which the main idea is making throughout the country, has stimulated some of the wealthy and aristocratic ladies of New York, Boston, and certain Western cities to give in their adhesion to the cause; and these ladies we understand are really at the bottom of the new organization, and some prominent names among them will doubtless be found ere long among the list of its officers.

A SHARP LOOK OUT.

Some shrewd politicians were called in to advise with the women at their meeting on Saturday evening, and in accordance with the wishes of the distinguished persons who are desirous of aiding the cause, helped to attain the results we have chronicled. They favored the total exclusion of men even from membership in the new society, urging that they would not be aids but obstacles rather to its smooth working and practical efficiency. However, the matter was settled by the compromise we have mentioned, and the affair is to be entirely under the control of women.

TRIM YOUR SAILS, BOYS.

When this movement gets fairly under weigh it will produce a delightful breeze throughout the nation, and both political parties must spread their canvass to catch the favoring gales, lest they suffer shipwreck, and see a new craft, with streamers of the gayest hues, and *manned* by brave and beautiful *women*, scouring the seas.

Working Woman's Convention.—A Convention of the Working Women of Boston, and their friends, to consult upon the general welfare of the working women; to devise means for their relief; and especially to consider the plan of Miss Aurora H. C. Phelps, for colonizing the poor women upon lands to be provided by the State, or by persons of means who are friendly to the cause of Labor, will meet at the Meionian (Tremont Temple), at 10 o,clock, a.m., May 20, 1869, and be continued through the day and evening.

THE BENEDICT TIME WATCH.

The enterprising firm of Benedict Brothers have now ready at their "up-town" establishment, 691 Broadway, an extensive and elegant assortment of Gold and Silver Watches for the Spring trade of 1869, to which they invite the attention of the readers of "The Revolution" and all others who desire a perfect time-keeper. Their stock comprises the various grades of the American Waltham and the choicest imported watches. They have also, in addition, a fine quality of watch which they have named the "Benedict Time Watch," they having the supervision of the manufacture of the movements, which are of nickel, which has proved to be a metal more durable than brass or other compound metals, and less liable to contraction or expansion by the fluctuating character of the temperature of this climate. This movement gives greater accuracy and requires less repairs than the others. Their stock of American Watches is unrivalled. All the various grades may be found at their counters at the lowest prices, regulated and in every respect warranted. The Messrs. Benedict Brothers have secured their reputation and extensive patronage by a strictly honorable course in conducting their business, selling the best of goods at fair prices. We feel safe in commending this establishment to the consideration of our readers, and would say to all, if you want a good, reliable Watch, go to Benedict Brothers, up town, 691 Broadway.

Financial Department.

THE REVOLUTION.

VOL. III.—NO. 20.

MONEY AND VALUE.

The Revolution of April 22d contains an article upon money, from D. W. of Boston. The author charges the advocates of paper money with the assumption that they pretend that value is created by legislation. This is a grave error. They assume no such premise. Money is a delegated power, derived by an act of legislation. Its power is sovereign in satisfying money debts; value, on the contrary, is struck into being by two concurrent minds at the moment the bargain is consummated. Value is relative and unstable. Should the purchaser of an article, from some cause, desire immediately to resell, he might have to sacrifice considerably, as there might be no buyers only upon speculation. Money is the medium by which values are calculated within the sovereignty which defines it, and delegates the power to satisfy debts. All values are relative and are affected by conditions. A holder of an article for sale, may refuse to take less than a dollar, and keep it until it becomes valueless, or he may find in time, a person who desires the article more than the dollar when an exchange will

be consummated. The receiver of the dollar has obtained an article which is useless for consumption, it is only the medium by which a desire can be gratified. Money is, in fact, not the thing desired, but that which it will purchase. We desire money for the power it possesses over property. The precious metals are merchandize but do not follow the laws of general commerce on account of their employment in settling national balances. This is a function of money, and the precious metals in consequence of filling this function are governed by the law of exchange, which is distinct from that of merchandize. Their constitution adapts them to this two-fold function and causes great irregularity in their movement from market to market. In consequence of this feature of the precious metals, they are ill-adapted to be the measure of domestic values within a sovereignity. Values of commodities will be affected within the sovereignty by the in and outflow of the precious metals, which will not be the case when measured by a paper money. Money is the factor by which values are calculated and adjusted, but it is not the value itself any more than figures are the things they enumerate. Two persons voluntarily contract a debt, expressed in money; the law, if called to decide, decrees how it shall be liquidated. The precious metals are, in the markets of the world, self-adjusting, and this feature is not properly understood, hence so many erroneous views about coined money. The industry of a nation requires a money locally self-adjusting and not morally. This feature of national prosperity must be impressed upon the mind to obviate the confusion of ideas between domestic industry and foreign trade. No people have yet had the sagacity to institute a local self-adjusting money, but that does not disapprove its practicablity when the people shall arrive at the degree of intelligence to institute one. Let a war, a revolution, or a famine break out in Europe, the relation of values will be affected in America when the exchanges are made on a specie basis. Should the proportions of the one or the other be great and long in duration and we be in a condition unable to export largely, but at the same time owing considerable in Europe, our debts would be sold to bankers who would collect them in coin or bullion and ship to Europe. The debts which the Europeans might owe us could not be collected and the proceeds transmitted home without a great sacrifice of capital, hence the money would be there reinvested until a favorable exchange should intervene. In the meantime, prices of all kinds of property would fall ruiniously low and bankrupt the trader and impoverish the laborer to the advantage of the capitalist. As soon as the drainage of the precious metals is apparent, the loaners of money will raise their rate of interest to the utmost, which will drive down the value of property and induce in the minds of the people fear and distrust. Hoarding will be resorted to, which will intensify the calamity, and is, in fact, always the worst feature of a money panic. These periodical catastrophes plunge the industrious, with small means, into the depths of poverty, with hope banished, ambition annihilated and all prospects obliterated. They are sunk into a condition of degradation to linger out a miserable existence, cowed by a false monetary system which transfers at intervals, the hard earnings of the industrious to the capitalist, consequently he subsidizes the press, the rostrum, and the college in his behalf, and the mind becomes educated into belief that the teaching is true, and if, at any time in doubt, it refers to authority, and so we have error from age to age perpetuated through the superstitious adherence to precedents, the want of manliness to investigate, unbiassed by authority.

Before the stability of domestic industry can be secured we must instititute a factor by which our home exchanges shall be made, which shall be self-adjusting in quantity to meet the oscillating demands of internal commerce, so that our domestic relation of values would not be affected by a sudden demand for the precious metals in a distant locality. A paper money which can be converted on demand into interest-bearing capital, which again converted into money, would meet the requirement. The one and the other must be received by the government for all dues. The interest bearing capital would be equal to money in purchasing power and superior to it to hold in hand because it would accumulate in rent, and yet at any moment ready to fill the function of money. The quantity of money necessary to meet the demands of trade cannot be regulated by legislation without damaging the prosperity of the nation, and the disturbing of the relation of values. If The Revolution will open its columns to individual views, it may draw a controversy which will develop new thoughts and modify many of the ideas which are now entertained. The difficulty in the way of publishing new ideas is, that it does not pay, which is valid.

Henry J. Callo.

DOWN WITH THE BANKS AND UP WITH THE CURRENCY.

Why should government allow a few wealthy men to establish banks of issue, and furnish the currency of the country? Why should not I, an humble individual, be allowed to issue my notes as well as a banker, if they are secured in the same way? The only reason arises from unjust and oppressive laws, which make the rich richer, and the poor poorer. Just such laws as deprive woman of an equal voice in making laws, electing officers to govern them, and of filling their share of trades and professions with adequate compensation for all they do, the same as the men now enjoy. The laws on banking are like the handle of a jug—all on one side. Repeal all the present laws in regard to banking, call in the circulation and cancel it. Return them the Government bonds, then commence a system of equal laws. Let the government prepare $400,000,000 of Greenbacks, and place them where any individual can obtain them, by depositing Government Bonds at 75 cts. on the dollar for the bills, and to pay 7 per cent. for their use as long as they have them. The interest on the bonds will more than meet this. Limit the number to be issued. In times like the present, when there is a stringency in the money market, have a reserve of $50,000,000 to be issued at 7 per cent. interest, in sums of not more than $20,000 to any individual or firm. This would be the best system of a paper currency that could be desired. No bank failures—no curtailment of accommodations for reports, but a steady, flexible currency that would be issued when there was a demand, and be returned when not wanted. Whenever the bills are returned, the securities should be yielded to their owner and the interest amount settled. This would be far better than specie payments, more profitable to the people and the government and better calculated to meet all the demands of trade, than any other which has met my eyes. Contraction and expansion would be regulated by demand and supply. Now add this to your list of Revolutions and swell the tide of reform, until equality of rights without regard to color, race or sex shall prevail throughout this prosperous and Heaven-endowed land. Upset the Banks, and let the government do what it should—furnish the currency of the country.

R.

THE MONEY MARKET

closed easy on Saturdry at 6 to 7 per cent. on call, and prime business notes were discounted at 7 to 8 per cent, and acceptances at 6 to 7 per cent. The weekly bank statement is considered favorable, showing a decrease in the demand for money. The deposits are increased the large amount of $5,499,312, the loans $1,102,525, and the legal tenders $1,391,783. The specie is decreased $706,720, and the circulation $8,366.

The following table shows the changes in the New York city banks this week compared with the preceding week:

	May 8.	May 15.		Differences.
Loans,	$268,486,372	$269,588,897	Inc.	$1,102,525
Specie,	16,081,489	15,374,769	Dec.	706,720
Circulation,	33,986,160	33,977,794	Dec.	8,366
Deposits,	193,893,137	199,392,449	Inc.	5,499,312
Legal-tenders,	55,109,573	56,501,356	Inc.	1,391,783

THE GOLD MARKET

was strong and active, advancing steadily from 137 on Monday of last week to 140 at the close of Saturday, owing to the increased demand.

The fluctuations in the gold market for the week were as follows:

	Opening.	Highest.	Lowest.	Closing.
Monday, May 10,	137	137⅞	137	137⅛
Tuesday, 11,	137⅛	138¼	137⅝	138⅛
Wednesday, 12,	138¼	138⅝	138¼	138⅜
Thursday, 13,	137⅞	138⅝	137⅞	138⅛
Friday, 14,	138⅝	138⅞	138½	138⅝
Sat'day, 15,	139½	139⅞	139½	139½

The exports of specie during the week were $622,236, making the aggregate since January 1, $11,962,603.

THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE MARKET

was firmer, and advanced owing to the small amount of bills offering, prime bankers 69 days sterling bills being 109½, and sight 110⅛, good bankers long 109¼, and short 110⅛.

THE RAILWAY SHARE MARKET

was strong and advanced with the exception of the Vanderbilt stocks until the middle of the week, when the market generally, became heavy and declined, but improving slightly at the close of Saturday.

The following are the closing quotations:

Cumberland, 30 to 34; W., F. & Co. Ex., 33¾ to 34¼; American, 40½ to 40¾; Adams, 61 to 61½; United States, 66¾ to 67; Mert's. Union, 15 to 16; Quicksilver, 19¼ to 19¾; Canton, 62¼ to 62½; Pacific Mail, 95 to 95¼; W. U. Telegraph, 44¾ to 44½; N. Y. Central, 181¾ to 182; Erie, 30¼ to 30¾; Hudson River, 157 to 157½; Reading, 95¾ to 96; Toledo Wabash & W. 75 to 75¾; Mil. & St. Paul, 78¼ to 78¾; Mil. & St. Paul preferred, 87¼ to 87¾; Fort Wayne, 154¼ to 155½; Ohio & Miss., 31½ to 31¾; Mich. Central, 127 to 128½; Mich. Southern, 106½ to 106¾; Illinois Central, 145¾ to 146¼; Cleve. & Pitts., 93 to 93½; Lake Shore, 105¾ to 106; Rock Island, 127⅛ to 128¼; Northwestern, 91½ to 91¾; Northwestern preferred 103 to 103¼; Mariposa, 22¼ to 24½; Mariposa preferred, 48½ to 49¼.

UNITED STATES SECURITIES

were strong and active throughout the week, the demand from domestic investors increasing, especially for the 1867's, ten-forties and currency sixes. At the close of Saturday the market was very strong with an upward tendency.

Fisk & Hatch, 5 Nassau street, report the following quotations:

United States sixes, Pacific Railroad, 106⅞ to 107; United States sixes, 1881, registered, 121¾ to 122¼; United States sixes, coupon, 122¼ to 122¼; United States five-twenties, registered, 116¼ to 116½; United States five-twenties, coupon, 1862, 121⅝ to 121¾; United States five-twenties, coupon, 1864, 116⅝ to 116⅝; United States five-twenties, coupon, 1865, 117¼ to 117⅜; United States five-twenties, coupon, new, 1865, 118⅞ to 119; United States five-twenties, cou-

pon, 1867, 119 to 119¼ ; United States five-twenties, coupon, 1868, 118¾ to 119 ; United States ten-forties, registered, 108¼ to 109 ; United States ten-forties, coupon, 109¼ to 109⅝.

THE CUSTOM DUTIES

for the week were $2,589,597 in gold against $2,593,026, $2,241,519 and $2,677,669 for the preceding weeks. The imports of merchandise for the week were $5,589,324 in gold against $7,672,849, $9,703,952, and $5,855,230 for the preceding weeks. The exports, exclusive of specie, were $4,622,424 in currency against $2,809,834, $4,471,695, and $3,689,819 for the preceding weeks. The exports of specie were $622,236 against $425,890, $569,289, and $597,625 for the preceding weeks.

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